REIGN
OF
GUSTAVUS
KING OF
SWEDEN.
Son of
ERICUS.

Collected out of the Histories of those times and offered to the service of these.

IF you will cast in my way that of the Poet, Quis leget hæc? and why must the name of Gustavus Ericson, now dead one hundred years be raked out of the dust?

To the first of these your selves will give the cleerest answer. But as to the second, I shall give this account, The works of God recovered out of Oblivion are as new; and every man is bound to keep them in everlasting remembrance. Much more those that are most signal, such as these in this Kings Reign, which for number, variety and excellency, in so little room are not to be Parallelled in Story. Secondly, though the goods of outward Estates of men may be trusted to such Executors as the Testator shall appoint, yet of their good Names every man is by God made Executor to imploy the same in Pious uses: And though in the Reign of this King, the acts of Charles the Emperor, Francis the French King, and Henry the 8th King of England, are the general subject of all Story, yet were my Pen as good as others, I should not doubt to leave this Gustavus equal with them if not above them all. He was the first King that rejected the Romish Religion, though Henry the 8th was the first that rejected the Popes pow-

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er. He was a King not only above, but against Tyranny; ever under difficulty, yet ever successful: The root of the Royal stem of Sueden famous for Kings of renown in these later dayes.

Lastly, the Course of Providence like the Circular motion hath its returnes; and the hearts of men fashioned alike, do correspond as face to face by reflection; and that observation of the Wise man, That which hath been is, and that which is to come hath already been, hath occasioned such as would carry themselves prudently in presens affairs, to study the former, and thereby they become wise at other mens cost. An observing eye easily sees the posture of the present times, and an observing Reader may as easily conceive the posture of the former; and by comparing the Causes and Effects of mens counsils, and the condition of their persons and actions, may as easily conceive the probable posture of the future. How far the affairs of Sueden in this Kings time may match with those of our times, will in some measure herein appear, and what conclusions will be made thereupon for the future, I must leave to Gods direction and your prudence. I submit what is mine own herein wholly to your censure, for I neither fear evil, nor desire other good, then that these times may be bettered hereby.

Dion. Hal. l. 10

GUSTAVUS ERICSON
KING OF
SUEDEN.

IN the Government of Nations these two principles of Luſt and natural Reaſon ſtrive even for ſupremacy, yet can never get higher then to be, as Deputies unto an other power that giveth a Law to them, both conducing to the good of the world, much more then Reaſon could project, or Luſt would permit.

A plentiful proof hereof we have in the Election of Governors of the people, wherein if private intereſt prevail, no good iſſue is expected; but if publick intereſt ſway, that peoples condition is accounted happy immediately, and yet how miſerably the expectations of men are generally deluded herein, no Story of any nation but gives teſtimony herein. *Veſpaſian* the Emperor was *Mutatus in melius*, made more good by being great; and on the contrary, *Galba* the Emperor while he was a private perſon, was *privato major* accounted worthy of Government, and in all

Tacit. Hiſt. lib. 1.

mens opinion capable of an Empire *nisi imperasset*, if he had not been Emperor. The excellency of a private person for a supreme jurisdiction is not known till he hath had trial by the temptations belonging to such high preferments. And the observation hereof hath disposed many States and Statesmen out of their Ideas of Election, and the people into an inclination unto a Rule for Successionary government, by degrees sliding from Association to a government by States; from thence to a government by Designation to one family; and lastly, arising to an Hereditary government, and there resting as in their Center; for the examples of relapse in that kind are very rare, and those nations that are not yet arrived at this pitch, though they, being of the Northen Climate, may have long nights, yet take little rest themselves, and allow their Kings less.

Denmark, *Sueden* and other of those Eastern nations, though (as it was long agoe noted of the *Germans*) they love change; yet having formerly gloried in their liberty to elect their Kings out of the wide world, are now come to a confinement of themselves to one particular Family, and most of them to a particular constitution with limitations leading their Elections according to a certain Rule. Only *Poland* remaineth a monument of an Elective government, to be a Caveat to all nations to beware of their condition; who, to avoid faction, that otherwise might arise by election from amongst themselves, have by a Law quite excluded themselves from government, and given up their Crown unto Foreigners, and yet they account themselves well appayed if they can derive their Kings from the *Jagellonian* stem, though at never so remote a distance.

Amongst the rest, if not above them all, *Sueden* may be looked upon as a generous and ingenious people, not soon sensible of oppression, yet impatient under it when they feel it, much resembling the *English* in their Laws, and the *English* them in their changes; and each other in special Providence appearing in all; upon which account only, I have desired to point at a parcel of Affairs befalling that Nati-

Nation in the time of *Gustavus* the first, in relation to the change of their government, which also hath been the condition of this Nation in these latter daies.

It is very difficult to discover what was the original government of *Sweden*, as of those other Northern Nations, they being in elder times more used to the Sword then the Pen.

Only the Historians generally agree, That these North-Eastern Nations elected their Kings: And more particularly from the time of the government of St. *Ericus* King of *Sweden*, until the the time of *Magnus Smeck*, which was above two hundred years, the people of *Sweden* continually inclined to fasten the government in one family. But *Magnus Smeck* King of *Sweden* having a Son called *Haquin* made King of *Norway*, growing thereby more secure in the way of his own pleasure, mounted up into a height of oppression and licentiousness, until he became unsupportable, and so was deposed by the people, and *Albertus* his sisters son Elected into the Throne; who also after some few years grew no lesse distastful to his people then his predecessor had done: *Haquin* was then King also of *Denmark* by Marriage with *Margaret* the Queen, and having a Son by her, died. *Margaret* surviving, now Queen of *Sweden* and *Norway*, observing that *Albertus* King of *Sweden*, sate loose in the throne, in right of her son *Olaus* by *Haquin* (which Son also soon after died) invaded *Albertus* and took him prisoner, and after seven years imprisonment set him at liberty, providing that *Stockholm* should be surrendred to her, which being performed, she now becomes Queen of the three Northern Kingdoms; and thus the royal Stem of *Sweden* was laid aside.

Nor was this difficult in the working; the Lords of *Sweden* being interested some in *Denmark*, some in *Norway*, some having favour with the Queen, some expecting it, and all weary of the disturbances between those bordering Kingdoms, they were easily perswaded to hearken to the proposals made by the Queen, which not only correspond-

ed with all their private concernments but promised a settlement of the liberties and lawes of each nation, a probability of an eternal rest amongst themselves, and to be rendred formidable to other nations: Nor need the *Swedes* take prejudice at the point of succession; the Queen agreed that the Supreme over all these nations should be by election between the two nations of *Sweden* and *Denmark* by turns, and that *Sweden* should have the first election after the Queens death, only the Queen should have liberty to declare her next successor.

These seemed equal unto the Lords of *Sweden*, especially because the proposed of this Conjunction was not new, but had often times been in discourse with them in the former troublesome times, and this present opportunity they looked upon but as the paleness of time for the accomplishing thereof. *An union of two neighbouring nations rightly made upon principles of peace and mutual agreements, is blessed of all, but if imposed by supremacy of power may seem goodly, but is seldome durable: If there be a mixture or alteration of lawes, making one government out of the ruines of two; the Prince may thereby make it as his own creature more absolutely depend, and he may thereby drive two flocks in one with more ease to himself, but he must expect from God the brand of the little Horn in Daniel; and from man the catching of the first opportunity forcibly to break their bonds, which many times like a clap of thunder overthrows High Towers. If neither Lawes nor Customes be changed, both nations onely being under one head, by justice and prudence that Government may continue longer; yet neither one nor other can promise continuance beyond the life of one man: Especially where the government is elective and both nations put to their own choice upon every removal, as it was the condition of both these nations of Sweden and Denmark to be at this time in outward appearance, therefore this agreement was a fair medium to compose the long broils between these two nations.* Nevertheless itwas otherwayes decreed by Him, whose

whose wayes are not, as mans wayes. By whose over-ruling order, also all this great building becomes a Babel in the conclusion to all these projects: For this annexation (I cannot call it Union) being thus agreed, the Queen bethinks her self of a successor; which to avoid faction she fetches from without doors, and left it (as may be supposed) as a rule for the future; for it was so observed during three succeeding kings. But in this the whole contrivement failed, that in these elections the *Danes* still led the way, and the *Suede* could never fasten upon any election at all, according to the agreement; for agreements between them that waite for place of authority, and these that watch for their liberty last no longer then necessity will bind.

Dionys. Hal. lib. 6.

The first king after the Queens death was by adoption from her, who was *Ericus Duke* of *Pomerane* he, reigned fourteen years, and was deposed. The second was *Christopher* Duke of *Bavaria*, who came in upon the Danish interest and yet the *Suede* submitted, he reigned seven years, and died. The third king was *Christian* the first who was son to the Earl of *Oldenburgh*, and was promoted by the *Danes* also, and submitted unto by the *Suede*. But the *Danes* beginning to invade the liberties of *Sueden*, and by degrees growing upon them, the *Suedes* began their defection so far, as to elect governours of their own, who should see to the maintenance of the Laws and liberties of their country; yet the first of these they crowned king and thereby disclaimed the whole agreement, but his successors had onely the title of governours, as if they intended not an absolute breach, but only with a moderation for safeguard of their own lawes and liberties.

Now if any man shall be of opinion, that a people and their posterity may for ever lie bound under the will of any Prince and his successors, and so be in worse condition then any slave, who in all Christian Governments ought to have the protection of the Law (For histories tell us that these elected kings brought their Law with them)

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such a man may call this course of *Sweden*, a Rebellion: But the *Swedes* are not of that mind; they mean not to dispute the point, they had begun to appear for their freedome, and hold on they must, unless they will for ever lie at the discretion of the *Danes* for justice and mercie, of which they have had already two much experience to trust thereto: They therefore held on in their course of election of governours of their own nation for the space of sixty years yet could never settle them: The *Danes* (like the spider upon some burly Bee) touching upon them with parties, plots, and contrivances, whereof they had store, having many bosome friends even of the *Swedes* themselves, who more respected their own private interests, then the liberty of their own Country. A hard task it was for *Sweden* thus to fight against foreign enemies abroad and to watch against foreign friends at home, and speaks much of their courage, industry and faithfulness to their Country, and the good providence of God towards them therein. For they lay under this condition during the government of fewer governours, successively; amongst all whom, not one of them would promise further submission to the Danish kings then might consist with the articles of annexation of the three kingdomes, nor would perform more. And had not the Dane been intoxicated, they might have learned by experience during all that time to have been contented to be ordered according to the articles of Annexation, but being sick of ambition & covetousness, they vomited nothing but oppression till they had fully purged themselves of all their interest and claim to the government of *Sweden*; all which came to pass in the reign of *Christian* the second, king of *Denmark*, above one hundred years after the articles of Annexation agreed. In manner following.

After the death of *Swanto* who had been the third governour of *Sweden*, the Lords of *Sweden* elected *Steno Sture* to be their governour; wherein *Gustavus* arch-Bishop of *Upsal* stood in opposition as one that loved the place more then his country; for missing of his expectation he betakes

takes himself to aid the interest of *Christiern* the second of that name king of *Denmark*. And to set forward his claim to the Crown of *Sueden*, who spent one year in pursuite thereof by force of arms, but effected little: Nor did the arch-Bishop of *Upsal* get ought thereby in *Denmark*, because they saw he played his own game; nor could he escape seisure of his temporalties in *Sueden* for his treachery against his Country. The next year the arch-Bishop obtained the Popes sentence of excommunication against the governour of *Sueden* and all his partakers, for their invading the rights of the Church and Bishop of *Upsal*, and hereupon the king of *Denmark* takes courage to invade *Sueden* once more with an army under his general, who in a battel gained the day against the *Suedes*, wherein *Steno* the governour was wounded and retired to *Stockholm*, unto whom also repaired all such as intended the defence of their Country: The rest of the *Suedes* yielded to the General upon conditions, who marched to *Stockholm*, but meeting with difficulties in the march and coming nigh the City finding no hope of treaty, and considering his army much wasted, he sends into *Denmark* for recruite. To whom the king comes in person; and so *Stockholm* is beleagured and there the most of this army being wasted and the remainder being wind-bound almost famished; a peace is p opounded and accepted on both parts: but the King meaning nothing less pretends he may not come into *Stockholm* to finish the treaty till first pledges be given for the safeguard of his person; thereupon pledges are sent on board his ship, but his mind changing with the wind, he sailes away to *Denmark* with the pledges, whom he committeth to safe custody. And after four years returns into *Sueden* with a great army, and gives a second overthrow to the *Suedes* in the field, wherein the Governour *Steno* is slain, then marching towards *Stockholm* finds the City standing upon its defence under the government of *Christina* the wife of *Steno*.

There must I have him in a long and tedious imploy-

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ment till I can bring in an accompt of affairs intervening elsewhere, conducing to the close of this discourse. For although the Governour of *Sueden* was slain, yet the speech of *Vespasian* proves true; *no man can destroy his successor.* Amongst the pledges imprisoned in *Denmark* by the King, one was *Gustavus* the son of *Ericus*, who was a noble Lord in *Sueden*, and now in *Stockholm* thus beleaguered by the King. This *Gustavus*, though but of a noble Family, yet (his Grandfather having married the Sister of *Steno Sture*, the Governour) became incorporated into the stem of the antient Kings of *Sueden*. And in his young years was trained up in the Court under his Uncle *Steno* the First, who was no less valiant and wise for Command in the field, then for Government in peace. Under him did *Gustavus* learn the Principles of war, which afterward he began to practise after the Command of *Swante* the next Governour. For after the Death of *Steno* the First, the difference between the *Danes* and *Swedes*, concerning the Government growing so high as to come to battel, wherein the *Swedes* gain two victories, *Gustavus* carried the Royal standard of *Sueden*, although, as then, he was but eighteen years old; and being now about Six and twenty years old is committed by the King to the Castle of *Calo* in *Jutland* prisoner under the Custody of Sir *Ericus Banner* a Knight of *Denmark*, where he was watchfully kept, that he might suffer no wrong, but by the King himself; in which imprisonment he now had indured four years with patience; but having daily news brought him of the sad examples of the *Danes* cruelty to the *Swedes* his Country Men, he concludes his condition to be like that of *Ulysses* in the Den to be reserved, as a chief dish for the Tyrants palate, when all the rest were devoured.

Gustavus in vit. Vespasian.

Upon a day therefore having obtained liberty to ride a hunting and being eager in the chase, but minding another game, he rode away, and having thus changed his course he changed his apparel and guise, and passing through many unknown wayes and dangers after three hundred miles chase he

he arrived at *Lubeck*, one of the Hanse Towns, and holding there correspondency with *Sweden* against *Denmark*, upon one and the same quarrel of oppression and wrong done to them by the *Danes*. Other friend or foe find I not in this Juncture that the Nation of *Sweden* had, which was an advantage to them, considering that as it were but yesterday they were so much in danger of the *Muscovite*, that they would have accounted it a mercy to have been joined with the *Danes* and *Normans*, though with disadvantage to themselves.

No sooner was *Gustavus* arrived at *Lubeck*, but earnest pursuit is made after him by Sir *Ericus Banner*, his former Keeper, who was come to *Lubeck* and demanded of the Magistrates the delivery of his Prisoner: *Gustavus* contrariwise insisted, *That he was no lawful prisoner to the King of* Denmark, *but was delivered by his Country amongst others in pledge for the safety of the King's person during the Treaty between the King and his own Countrymen, and that the King, contrary to all Right and Faith, detained him and the other Pledges and carried them Captive into Denmark: that now he was under the protection of the publick Faith of the State of Lubeck, to whom he was fled for refuge against oppression, and desired to have the benefit of the Law, and to have the matter tried.* Divers of the Senate of *Lubeck* were of opinion that *Gustavus* ought to be returned to the King of *Denmark* as his prisoner, and that it concerned not them to try the lawfulness or unlawfulness of the imprisonment: But the Consul over-ruled the point, affirming, *That though originally they had not power to determine the point, yet* Gustavus *being before them* de facto *a free man, and as such had put himself into the protection of the City of* Lubeck, *and had appealed unto them for right, it becomes them to do therein according to Law, and that by the Law of God, the Law Civil and the Law of Nations, they ought to inquire into the true condition of* Gustavus *his Captivity, and determine the same upon grounds of Justice: otherwise they might make themselves parties to the King of* Denmarks

oppression (if the case so prove) before they understand what they do. The authority of the Consul and the weight of his reasons prevailed with the Senate, who passed their definitive sentence, That *Gustavus* shall be protected by the State of *Lubeck* till the cause be tried.

This served *Gustavus* his turne for the present, but he knew not how long it would continue, he knew that interests of Nations are soon changed, and those of petty States sooner; besides *Gustavus* had too much work to do to continue long in one place, and thereupon secretly, and without notice to any but the good Consul, whose counsel he had in this case, he got aboard a Merchant ship and sailed into the Bay of *Calmar*, where landing at *Stenso* he footed it to *Calmar*, into which secretly entring, and finding the same standing upon their Guard against the *Danes*, he discovered himself to the La. *Magnus* that held the Castle, and acquainted her of the manner of his Captivity and escape; and taking advantage of the reports then coming of the sad examples of the *Danish* cruelty and oppression, indeavoured to perswade and incourage the Citizens to stand out in defence of the liberties of themselves, their wives and children, and not to trust to the fair words and promises of the *Danes*, but to indure rather a little hardship for a time, assuring them things would change their course very shortly. The Citizens hearkned to him, but mercinary souldiers mutined amongst themselves & sought to put *Gustavus* to death, but their plot discovered the mutiny was suppressed, and *Gustavus* advised for his safety to withdraw himself into his own country, and obscure himself until a more convenient time should appear for the work that he had in design.

This journey he knew would be full of difficulty and danger, for his way must be through *Smalland*, where the *Danish* Emissaries were very busie to gain the *Swedes* to moderation and submission to the *Danish* yoke, yet he abides the adventure with grief of heart, to see the poor Country people deluded, insomuch that he could not forbear

bear, but told them, *That they should consider the case of many of their Country men, who had promises from the* Danes, *yet nothing performed but miserable bondage, that there is much lesse danger in standing the push of the* Danish *pike, then in committing themselves and all that is dear unto them, to such a broken reed as their fair words, which had not only failed but mortally wounded also the liberties of such of their fellow Country-men as had given credit unto them.*

Nevertheles divers of the *Swedes* of the greater rank in those parts being pre-ingaged, perswaded the people otherwise; affirming, *That the* Danes *aimed only at the suppressing of such of the Lords of* Sweden *that combined themselves against the Kings government; but as touching the people the King was resolved to win their good opinion, and they should not need ever to fear want so long as salt and Herrings lasted: Contrarily, If they would not be perswaded, they are all but dead men if they do not speedily forsake their Country.*

Gustavus perceiving the people under a scare, and desiring rather to be quiet then put themselves to hazard, he finds it not convenient for him to stay any longer there, but forthwith secretly departs to *Terno*, amongst his own Tenants, whence also (having provided himself of necessaries) he departs to *Rasinese* his fathers house, where he concealed himself for the most part of that summer, and at length adventured to discover himself to one that had been a faithful friend unto him, and once was Arch-Bishop of *Upsall*, but laid aside by the gusts of time, and now was retired to a Monastry at *Gripsholm*. This man now aged, and fearful, and willing to be quiet, (though upon hard conditions) disswaded *Gustavus* from stirring; alledging, *The advantage that the King had, having an army in the Field, and the Towns generally under his command, and that the King desired nothing more then to conciliate the good opinion of the people; and for assurance had granted Letters of Grace, and generall pardon particularly therein mentioning*

Gustavus *himself, and therefore he should do well to give credit to the King, and submit to his Government: and for my part (said the old man) I dare ingage to procure from the King a special free and full pardon for your selfe Gustavus, if you shall desire it.* Gustavus heard all with silence, but liked not his undertaking, for ought he knew this old man might be, or desire to be the Kings Favourite; nor did *Gustavus* like to adventure himself upon the Kings promises, and thereupon resolves to wave this old mans counsel and betake himself back again to *Refnaes*.

All this while was the King at the Siege before *Stockholm*, indeavouring partly by force, partly by messuages of grace to get possession of the City, and to that end, first confirms the agreement made by his General with the Lords in the field, and then grants a general pardon and instrument of oblivion of all by-gones; then he sends his Commendations, and speaks fair to the people in the country by the *Swedish* Lords that were of his party, which in many places met with little or no respect at all. Nevertheless in continuance of time, by often droppings of good words, serious promises, protestations, execrations and Letters Patents, and declarations under the Kings hand and Seal, a hole is made into the hearts of the men at *Stockholm*, the Gates at length are opened, and the King admitted entrance, and acknowledged of all to be their lawful King, and is Crowned, and solemn feastings holden for all sorts of people both *Swedes*, *Danes* and *Germans*.

A fair morning no doubt, but who knows what a day may bring forth? The King all this while retaineth a reserve for the ruine of the Nobility of *Sweden*, and now he hath them in one place within Wals and under a sufficient Guard, but it must be done in the most comly manner that can be, because the thing it self was ugly and illfavoured. Therefore its first propounded that a Treason must be supposed to be plotted by the *Swedes* to raise the people to Massacre the *Danes*, and that the *Danes*, as in their own defence, should assassinate the *Swedes*; but this was thought dangerous

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& might possibly indeed turn to the destruction of the *Danes*, for who knows what men in despair may bring to pass?

Then another way is propounded, That the King must look upon the *Swedish* Lords as under the Popes Curse and sentence of Excommunication, and to usher forth the Kings Justice with more colourable zeal, the Arch-Bishop of *Upsal* (by whose means the Popes thunderbolt was fallen upon *Sweden*) must only accuse the *Swedish* Lords as Excommunicate persons, for Treason against their King, and robbery of the Church, and spoilers of the dignity and estate of the Arch-Bishop, and thereupon must demand judgment against them.

And for the Juggling of these *Swedish* Lords together, a Feast is appointed upon the third day after the Coronation, whereat also the *Germans* and *Danish* party were assembled, and then in the presence of them all, the Arch-Bishop of *Upsal* (though unwillingly when he perceived the issue) steps forth before the King, and accuses the *Swedish* Lords of injurie done by them to the Arch Bishop his person and estate and demanded recompence for his damages sustained. The King liked not this charge, telling the Arch Bishop, *That he forgate the Popes sentence, the Crime of Treason, and his own place, who ought in zeal to the Church to have demanded also punishment of the persons of the offenders.* And forthwith commands the Guards to seize upon the *Swedish* Lords, and as some Writers say, Shewed so much mercy as to let them live till the next day, and in the interim set Guards upon all the avenues to the City, that none might be allowed to depart the City: And upon the next day, being the eighth day of *Novem.* 1520. not by Legal execution, but in a way of Butchery, put to death nigh an hundred of the Nobles and chief men of *Sweden*, and Citizens of *Stockholm*, and then let loose the Souldiers upon others of the City and Country, wherein all sorts of people Ecclesiastical, Civil Great, Mean, Man, woman and Child suffered all manner of violences and deaths that cruelty could devise, not only to the living, but opprobries to the dead. The lively Character whereof, may bet-

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ter be described by some *Dane* or some other party in the *Scicilian* Vespers, *Parisian* Nuptials, then by any other at so great a distance.

Then begins Covetousness to ascend the Stage, seizing upon all the Estates of the dead and living, and to make all sure, after the liberty of *Sweden* was thus brought into the condition of a dead man, they would bury it so as it might never rise more, and to that end set Guards upon all places, publish Edicts, and do not only deprive the *Swedes* of their Armor, but also of their Arms and Legs; turning it into a proverb, That a *Swede* could plough his ground well enough though with one arm and one woden leg.

The last and worst of all evils is *Hypocrisie*: This Christian Kings conscience when all is done, is touched with so much compassion, as he said, *He would not have done it, but his conscience tied him thereto in zeal to the Church, and obedience to the Roman sentence of Excommunication*: So as Religion is made the Patron of all these evils. And yet the King is not so satisfied, he hastes out of *Sweden*, possibly fearing least the ground should swallow him up, or if the fame of his victory over *Sweden* should arrive in *Denmark* before him, that nation might be moved to vomit him out. Now were some persons of these daies then alive in *Sweden*, they would have concluded nothing but vengeance and Gods wrath against *Sweden* for their rebellion, witnessed by so notable example of Bloodshed. Such may remember the Tower of *Syloam*, but I must note that the immediate fruit hereof fell heavy upon the head of the King himself, who now is gone home King of the three Kingdoms of the *Baltick*; and secured that of *Sweden* under Guards in every place, but cruelty never conquers the Spirits of men; he may be feared of all, but is hated of all, so his conscience tells him, and he is given up to a fearing heart, and a fainting mind, so as within three years he loseth all the three Kingdoms without adventuring one drop of blood, or striking one blow. The manner may be glanced upon hereafter; but how *Sweden* now under water gets

gets above the Waves, I shall now proceed to shew briefly.

This sad news of *Stockholm* coming to the notice of *Gustavus* now at *Refsnaes*, and in particular the murther of his own father *Ericus*, amongst the rest of the Nobles, he was no whit discouraged, but rather inraged with desire of revenge and rescue of his Country from under such Tyranny: yet what with grief and detestation of the execrable cruelty, and doubt that many would be scared thereby from appearing in their Countries Cause, his Spirit was troubled, and rendred lesse able at the present to determine upon any resolution of the manner of his proceeding, and therefore he gets him away in all haste to the mountain people with this newes; but they scarce civilized are the less sensible of their Countries Cause: *Gustavus* therefore maketh no stay there, but gets him away to a Castle in those parts commanded by *Aaron Peter* a noble person, whom once he knew to be well affected to the Liberties of his Country, and to him he declared his condition and intentions, and desired his Counsel, but found the man and others in those parts so amazed at the news of *Stockholm*, as they forgate the publick and themselves, and were willing to stoop under any burden then to stir against it; and so fearful of being suspected by the *Danes*, as desiring rather to be reputed resolvedly at their service. And more especially *Aaron Peter*, who (though pretending pity and compassion of *Gustavus* his condition) promised not only security to his person if he would abide with him, but his best aid and assistance in compassing the ends propounded by him: Yet having gained full knowledg of *Gustavus* his mind, after a few daies (for the immediate actions of persons intrusted, after trust undertaken, are more subject to observation) he gets himself aboard and went to the *Danish* Lieutenant *Brunn*, and discovers to him the whole matter, as well touching the intentions of *Gustavus*, as his own counsel given to him. But *Aaron* forgot one point of policy in dissimulation which is to let none know his inten-

tention but his own heart. For either *Aaron* was so uxorious that there was but one heart between him and his wife; or otherwise so underneath (as some wise men are) that he cannot go out of doors but must give positive answers to the ordinary questions, Whether do you go? What is your business? When will you return? &c. And his wife being more true to her Country, or regardful of the laws of common honesty and hospitality then her Lord was, when he was gone, told *Gustavus*, whither her Lord was gone, and to what purpose, and therefore advised him forthwith to shift for himself, and furnished him with her own horse and steed to carry him to *Suertso*, to one that had been *Gustavus* his Colleague at the University. The day following came *Bruno* the *Dane* with twenty souldiers to apprehend *Gustavus* at *Aaron Peters* house, but his Lady told him that *Gustavus* was departed secretly the day foregoing; so the prey being lost, *Bruno* returns without sport. Thus God makes a woman a great instrument in the saving of the nation of *Sueden* from miserable ruine.

Gustavus being arrived at *Suertso* had courteous entertainment; but consideration being had of the restless pursuit of the *Danes* after such a person of note as *Gustavus* was (for now his name was upon the Stage) all men observing his motion, some with desire, others with fear, it was thought convenient that he should not stay longer there (for now the enemy hunted upon the hot sent) and therefore he departs privately beyond the Valley of the *Dallearles* unto *Rotwick*. These *Dallearles* are a people of *Sueden*, strong and hardy, and men of resolution; and being bred in the hard labour of the mines, are for action, and in which regards (as some Writers note) they have their name *Dallearles*, or *Carles*, or *Robustous* men of the Dales, having also by reason of their priviledges, this advantage, That they are numerous and rich. To these *Gustavus* applies himself, and relates to them the particulars of the Massacre at *Stockholm*, whereby the Nation of *Sueden* had lost much of their best blood, and told them also what further

further danger the nation was in, which he did to the life set forth in good Language (for *Gustavus* could no lesse skilfully manage his tongue then his armes) The *Dalecarles* moved with compassion of their Country, and regard of themselves and friends, told *Gustavus*, That they would adventure all that was dear to them to be revenged upon the *Danes*, and to vindicate their nation from bondage. Only they desired that *Gustavus* would endeavour to ingage their brethren of the Eastern Dales with them; and *Gustavus* undertakes the work accordingly, forthwith departed to *Mora*, the chief City of those Dales, where arriving about the latter end of *December* obtained audience from them the next day after his arrival.

He told them, *He should not need to make any Proœms to gain their attention, the matter of his discourse he was perswaded would ease him of that trouble; he therefore prayed them to take into consideration the perplexed condition of this Nation of* Sueden, *for these later years; That through their own distractions and civil, or rather uncivil discontentments, they have given up the flourishing estate of the Crown of* Sueden *into the hands of strangers, who in stead of seeking the welfare of the people, have wrought altogether for advancement of their own interest, whiles in the mean time the people have been glutted with misery, and drunk with tears; themselves, wives, children, estates prostituted to Murthers, Torments, Rapin, and all manner of contempt. I appeale,* saith he, *to the old men, they know it, they cannot forget it; and the young men may know it if they will ask their elders: And shall there never be an end of these miseries? Are the Suedes become a people alwayes to be trampled upon, and devoured, and made food for forreigners? Call to mind the government of the Tirant* Ericus *of* Pomerland, *his Cruelty, Oppression and Extortion; and remember that you, even you I say of the Dales, rose unanimously in defence of your Country against him, and therein hazarded all that was dear to you, even unto*

your own lives, and compelled him with shame to return to his own Country. And now look about you, and consider, are you in better condition under the inraged power of the Danes? *a people of immortal hatred to our Nation, and themselves hated of all Nations but themselves. Can you expect better measure now from them then you have found hitherto after an hundred years experience? Hear the cries of the living at* Stockholm, *the fatherless and widows, the dying groves of so many brave men of this Nation, under the cruel torments, and unsatiable butcheries, the abhorred Massacre of all sorts, degrees, sexes and ages, contrary to all Faith of Promises, Oathes, Execrations and ingagements under Hand and Seal; And now they will promise you peace, and right, and what not? Did they not give all assurance hereof to our dead friends at* Stockholm, *that could be devised to bind rational men? and yet they brake all bonds and ingagements: and will you now believe their words? No, no, the* Danes *are the same men, or rather inhumane monsters that ever they were, their hatred is now broken into a flame, that will never go out so long as the riches, or any blood of the Nobility of* Sueden *lasteth, nor will ever rest till it hath run over all the Country. Do not you every day hear sad news of the approaching of this evil? Is it not almost come to your doors? and will you sit still till it hath seized upon your necks? Is it not better to die like Souldiers, if die we must, then to die like slaves? Are the* Danes *more then men, and you lesse then women? I am here before you this day, command my Estate and Fortune, my Person and Life, I will lay down all in this service if you will join with me in any way, though I be no other then a private Souldier; for I had rather die a Free Noble man of* Sueden, *in the defence of my Country, then live to see my Country under perpetual vassallage.*

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The *Morians* much affected herewith, profeſſed themſelves obliged to appear for the defence and relief of their dear friends and Country-men; in whoſe liberties and lives their own are wrapped up: yet they prayed him to retire himſelf to ſome place of privacy for his own ſafety, till their neighbours of the Weſtern Dale might be in poſture to join with them, aſſuring him they would not ſlack their preparations.

Guſtavus took this anſwer courteouſly, and departed to the Weſtern *Dallearles* bordering on the mountaines, to gain them into a poſture; and there alſo meeting with freſh newes of blood and cruelty of the *Daniſh* party, he paſſeth once more amongſt the Mountainers, where having to do with ſharp weather, rough and unknown waies, more uſed by wild beaſts then men, yet indignation againſt the enemies, and zeal for his Country, adds continual courage and reſolution againſt all difficulties and dangers he makes trial of the peoples minds again, but they ſcarce ſenſible of any thing but what was under ground, and knowing no happineſſe above mining, nor any miſery worſe; all is ſpoken to a deaf ear, till at length *Guſtavus* comes to the houſe of *Laurentius Olai*, in thoſe parts a Knight active and brave, who formerly had ſerved *Steno Sture* the Governour with much valour and faithfulneſſe; he joining with *Guſtavus* told the Mountainers that *Guſtavus* had given them right intelligence concerning the miſeries of *Sueden* under the *Daniſh* cruelty at *Stockholm* and other places, and further told them, That he had received late information that the *Daniſh* King had determined a Royal Progreſs throughout the whole Country of *Sueden* to receive homage in all places of the people, and had by Proclamations commanded Gibbets to be erected in all places, and that Letters were coming down into the Country to provide quarter for the *Daniſh* Souldiers that were to be as a Guard to the King in his Progreſs.

This news makes the people bestir themselves, and considering with themselves what to do, Messengers come from the Country of the *Dallearles* round about to seek after *Gustavus*, who was gone further out of reach, to *Lima*. The Mountain people likewise joine therein to invite *Gustavus* his speedy return, assuring him of their joining with him, and that they would make him their Captain. Accordingly *Gustavus* returnes with the messengers, and finding the people gathered, he is received with universal acclamations of the people great and small, and made Governour and Captain of the *Dallearles*, and unto him they swear Fealty and Obedience, and assign him a Life-guard of chief young men for the honour and safety of his person

Thus one great work is over: *Gustavus* had all this while to do with a people whose Principles were fixed in their manufactures, and though they had many eyes, and could discern well enough things nigh at hand, yet could they never discern the Times, nor make conclusions to themselves what they ought to do; nor is it their case alone if that be true that the Orator said of the people of *Rome* in his dayes. In the Common people (saith he) is neither Counsel, nor Reason, nor Discerning, nor Judgment. For God never made all men for all things: Miners are no good Statesmen, so good Statesmen are no good Miners: and therefore it's the lesse marvel if *Gustavus* spent above a whole year in this painful Pilgramage, with continual labour and danger, and all to make his Country men sensible of their condition, and to appear in defence of their liberties before it was too late, and yet could prevail nothing till the *Danish* feast at *Stockholm* (not above two months past) roused them out of their dream: But now *Gustavus* is in posture for the field as a Captain for the Liberty of *Sueden* against a known enemy, or rather Tyrant, whose government was thought to be setled in *Sueden* both by Law and Power.

Cic. in Orat pro Plane.

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Nor can this be looked upon otherwise then as an especial work of That invisible Power from that Supreme Compassion of, and Justice to an oppressed and (in common reason) undone people, that such a principle of Magnanimity, Zeal, Constancy and (as an Historian cals it) that strong Impulse or Enthusiasm should lead one man thus in this Service through all opposition and danger. But these are but parts of his waies, there remaineth greater works behind.

Gustavus thus ingaged goes on to gather his army, and to him *Laurentius Olai* joines, and the servants and friends of the murthered Nobles of *Sweden*, and others dis-interested, and in danger of the *Danish* interdict, or who durst not otherwise appeare; and with these he begins his first March on Candlemas day, 1520. first leading his men to the Copper Mountains and surprising the Governour and other Officers of the Mines, seized all the *Danish* goods, the Kings Revenue, besides the Tenths, and returned back into the valley.

And having thus in some measure gained a stock for incouragement to his Souldiers, his army swels daily, and faces about to the other mountains, where he is made by general consent their Lord and Governour. Afterward dividing his army into two parts, he leaves one part in the Mountains under the command of *Peter Sueno*, a famous Commander; expecting them (if occasion required) as a reserve, with a considerable number of the inhabitants joined with him.

And with the residue of his Army he marches into the Country of *Helsing*, bordering upon the Sea on the one side, and the Valley of the *Dalkarles* on the other, as well to gain a passage by Sea, if occasion should serve, as to secure his party themore by good Neighbour-hood. During

ring the march into *Helsing*. Letters are sent unto the Mountains from the Arch-Bishop of *Upsall*, the old enemy of the liberty of *Sueden*, the same being sighned by him and his father *Ericus Trolle*, and *Bennet Canutus*, stiling themselves, The Council of the Kingdom of *Sueden*, the purport whereof was to beseech the Mountainers to be mindful of their duty to their Sovereign King, and of the peace of the Kingdom of *Sueden*; with large promises of the Kings grace and favour towards them, and of safe conduct to *Gustavus*, if he would lay down Arms, and that so doing, affairs for the peoples good might be composed and setled; but these Letters met with no better entertainment then indignation and scorn.

The *Helsingers* gave *Gustavus* no scornful entertainment, yet not very acceptable, they beseech him, *That they might be spared from present ingagement in Arms, in regard they were an exhausted Country, and much impoverished by the late troubles.* This temper of theirs was not for *Gustavus* his turn, he must have men of resolution, he is therefore contented with their submissive answer, and leaves them to better consideration, and thence marches into *Gestrict*, who readily submit unto him, and then he returns unto the Dales again, having gained by his March a considerable increase unto his Army, now made 5000. men, old Souldiers, formerly hidden in several places, and no gathered to him.

The Arch-Bishop of *Upsal* finding the little respect shewn to his Letters by the Mountainers, he now resolves to do that with his teeth, which his tongue by fair Language could not; and commands *Hen. de Milen* with a party to march into the Dales and reduce them by force of armes, and crush those motions in the Egg.

Gusta-

Guſtavus hears of his coming and marches towards him; *De Milen* hearing of his approach retires from him, profeſſing that *Guſtavus* is not to be dealt with by parties. But a fainting ſpirit had poſſeſſed the *Danes*, or elſe being poſſeſſed of the field, as they were, they would never have ſuffered an enemy thus to gather under their noſes, nor dallyed with *Guſtavus*, with inconſiderable parties, when as they had a full army in readineſs.

Yet *Guſtavus* is not ſo minded, he had begun and now he muſt go on, and let all men know that he ſo little fears the *Danes*, though bloody men they be, that he will adventure upon a long March to find them out and fight them within their Walls; and accordingly marches to *Weſteraſs*, a City having a Caſtle, and being rich in trade by a continual market of Copper and Iron brought daily from the Mountains thither, and there the *Danes* had laid a Gariſon.

Guſtavus in his march having increaſed his Army by confluence of the Country to him, divided his army into three battels; the Van commanded by *Laurentius Olai*, the middle by *Laurentius Ericus*, whom he commanded to march through the Valley of *Balingſaſs*, and incamp neer St. *Olaies* Chappel, but not to attempt any thing till further order.

But the enemy not minding to ſtay their leiſure, and obſerving *Laurentius* his manner of approach, gave him a full Charge, eſpecially with their Horſe: *Laurentius* ſtood his ground, and gave the *Dane* ſuch a rebound, that in diſorder they turned head, their foot alſo giving ground, *Laurentius* purſues them: *Guſtavus* hearing hereof, and fearing his mens forwardneſs in their heat might carry them beyond their Guard, haſted into Van, though with ſome danger to his perſon, and loſs of ſome that were nigh unto him; And finding *Laurentius* engaged even unto the ſtreets of the

the City in eager pursuit of the flying enemy; and that it was both difficult and dangerous to bring them to a stand, he gave them their liberty, and with them pursued the enemy through the streets. The *Danes* Rallying themselves in the Market place, made there a stand behind their Ordnance, ready planted to give the *Suedes* a salutation upon their first approach. But *Laurentius Ericus* with the middle battel found out a speedier way, and was already gotten into the City, and charged the *Danes* in the Market place in their Rear, and making them quit the place gained their Ordnance and thereby saved much blood that might have been shed. The souldiers in the Castle seeing their fellows beaten and gone shot firy bullets into the City, and fired the same in divers places, but the *Suedish* Souldiers quenched the fire and saved the City. The *Danes* now fled to their intrenchment, defended themselves for some time till they had setled a sufficient guard in the Castle, and then by boats get to *Stockholm*.

This victory as it discouraged the publick enemy, so it incouraged such as were secret friends to their Country, to forsake the *Danish* tents and take part with *Gustavus*. For the common sort are credulous and easie to be perswaded in prosperous events to expect still good successe, and in ill successes to call that fate, or Gods anger, which ordinarily they formerly call fortune or ill hap, and so they will own, or disown the cause, because they have no other principles to lead their judgment in matters of publick consideration. Now amongst those that thus changed their way, though they changed not their mind, was *Arvidus* a West *Goth* whom *Gustavus* knew so well, that he was forthwith sent with part of the army to besiege the Castle of *Stockburrow*, and to watch the motion of the people in those parts. Other Castles were also besieged; But *Laurentius Ericus* was sent to *Upsal* with his Brigade, and *Laurentius Olai* to second him with the Country people now gathered to him from all parts. In their march the Governours scouts of

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Tacit. Hist. 2 & 4.

Upſal are intercepted; the next day Letters are ſent from the Governour and Magiſtrates of *Upſall* to the Commander in chief of the *Swedes*, to deſire that they may have liberty according to their wonted manner every year upon St. *Ericus* day, to hold their Proceſſion with the Shrine of St. *Ericus*, unto the Church of Old *Upſall* being half a mile without their City, but anſwer was returned, That the Solemnity was for *Swedes* to obſerve and not for *Danes*. The Governor, though miſſing the Proceſſion, would not loſe his Feaſt, he would therefore let the *Swedes* know, he can Feaſt though the *Swediſh* army waite upon his Trenches; and accordingly held the Feaſt in the Arch-Biſhops Garden. But the next morning before break of day the *Swediſh* army came to the Walls, ſeized upon the Guards, entred the City: And the *Danes* half aſleep, and as yet ſcarce ſober, in amaze fled out of the City, fiering the ſame as they went; but the *Swedes* appointing a party to ſee to the quenching of the fire, purſued the affrighted *Danes* till they paſſed the River, in the paſſing whereof the Governour was ſhot with an arrow, whereof he died at *Stockholm*.

About eight daies after comes *Guſtavus* from *Weſteraſs*, to *Upſal*, and calling the Canons of the College together, he askes them whether they are *Swedes*, or *Danes*, charges them with the bood, ſpoil and miſery of *Sweden*, and that they with their Arch-Biſhop have nurſed all the Rebellions in *Sweden* againſt their lawful Governours, and were betrayers of the Liberties of their Country into the hands of Foreigners: That the time will come when they muſt account for their actions, and in the mean time he requireth Fealty from them, and ſecurity in their ſtation to maintain the liberty and peace of the Country. They humbly anſwer with Petition, That he would take into conſideration their ingagement to the Arch-Biſhop, who was now at *Stockholm*, and that they might be permitted to carry their Archbiſhop along with them in this matter, if they could prevail with him, and to that end they would

write letters of advice to him to invite him thereunto. *Guſtavus* was contented herewith, and wrote a Letter himſelf by the ſame meſſenger, but what other meſſage the Canons ſent privately, the iſſue renders ſomewhat doubtful; for the Letters were received with contempt, and the meſſenger deteined: the Arch-Biſhop ſaying, He would carry an anſwer in his own perſon, and immediately cauſed a Body of horſe and foot to be drawn forth, and with them marched with that ſpeed and ſecrecy, that they were within two miles of *Upſal* before *Guſtavus* had notice of his coming.

Guſtavus now too late conſiders his own army now divided into ſeveral imployments, the enemies (if eſpials ſay true) ſurmounting him in ſtrength, that the truth can not be known, but he muſt put all to the hazard by his ſtay; That he is in a City unaſſured to him, if not aſſured againſt him; That he muſt either be ſaid to flee from his enemies, or adventure all: He furthermore conſiders, that though his honour may ſuffer in a retreat, yet it may be repaired, but the loſſe of his party is irrepairable, as well touching his own honour, as the liberty of *Sueden*, and ruine to his party.

Hereupon with ſpeed he withdraws his party out of the City, into a Wood not far off: The Arch-Biſhop coming to the City, is ſoon informed hereof, and makes out after him into the wood, where the *Suedes* had made a ſtand, and ſtood their ground againſt the utmoſt ſhoot that the *Danes* could make: And *Guſtavus* beſtirring himſelf from place to place, fell with his horſe into a Quagmire, where being eſpied by the *Danes*, he was knocked off his horſe, and had been at their mercy had not a party of twenty of *Suedes* horſe reſcued him and horſed him anew, after which, returning to charge the enemy, they retired, and *Guſtavus* perceiving their orderly retreat forſook not his ground, but let them go quietly to

Gustavus had now leisure to consider what to do, and finding by experience a double error in his March; one that he had divided his army into 10 many parts, that every one was by it self insufficient to subsist, in case the enemy should gather head; the other, that in the way of his March he had not reduced the enemies Castles, but left them as birds of prey to fall upon any of his parties when they shall be weak, which was contrary to *Cæsars* Rule: and now if *Gustavus* would forsake the Wood, he sees the enemies Castles on every side, and the armie of the enemies entire; what should he do? Men bring themselves into plunges, but God brings them out: *Gustavus* had a party that was before the Castle of *Westeraas*, they hearing some news of the fight between the Arch-Bishop and *Gustavus*, do rise and join with him, and being united, they turn to the left hand, leaving *Upsal* on the right hand, and bend their March towards *Stockholm*, supposing they might meet with the Arch-Bishop before he could reach *Stockholm*; and herein their expectation was not altogether vain, for if *Gustavus* fell into two errors, the Arch-Bishop recompensed them with one which was worse then the other two; and that was, that being returned to *Upsal*, he considered not that he left *Gustavus* in a posture of defence, and might possibly recruit his Army, and meet with him in his return to *Stockholm*, if he made not haft. And accordingly *Gustavus* injoying his expectation and the Arch-Bishop frusterated of his, *Gustavus* meets with him before he could reach *Stockholm* with his army, and after an houres dispute *Gustavus* his Arguments were of that force, that the Arch-Bishop hardly escaped into the City with the sixth part of his army

Cæs. Com. 1 Gal.

Gustavus follows him and intrencheth his Army nigh the City; but considering the state thereof, now full of *Danes* (the *Swedes* after the Massacre generally forsaking their dwelling houses) and that it was like to hold

out long, he bethinks himself of augmenting his Army, but was soon eased of that care; the *Helsingers* that hitherto had concealed themselves, now come unanimously and offer him their service, and many old Souldiers of *Germany* likewise, so as he is now more troubled to find quarter then men.

But is not the King of *Denmark* ready all this while to march with a complete army to save a Kingdom that thus is giving him the adieu? No, his posture is such as he may not stir from home, for as he went out of *Sueden* without one God-speed, so he comes into *Denmark* without a welcome: he is so died in blood that all are afraid of him, his Victory is Abominated, his Person odious, his Government grows unsupportable, he finds he can gather no army. If he should depart out of *Denmark*, he might lose all at home, and peradventure get nothing abroad but knocks; he commands his Governor of the Isle of *Gothland* to relieve the *Danes* in *Sueden* as occasion will offer, and accordingly he after one repulse suffered, relieved the Castle of *Stockburg* besieged by *Arvidus*, and changing the garison, committed the same to the Government of *Barnard de Milen*.

Gustavus considering that the siege of that place would prove dangerous to *Arvidus* if the countrey and neighborhood were not assured to them: he sends to the Bishop of *Hincopen*, and having gained him to joyn with him, by his advice he summons a meeting of all the States of East and West *Gothland*, *Smalland*, *Vermeland*, and the *Dales*, and *praies them to take into consideration the condition of their Country, that the misery thereof hath been occasioned only through division and variety of interests: and the government, having of later daies been onely by forreigners, the Countreys cause hath been trodden under foot; the particular burthens he shall not need to enlarge upon, they feel them, and groan under them. The great difficulty which he propounds to their consideration is, To advise and conclude upon particular means of redress; and as for himself, he will deli-*

deliver his opinion freely and clearly, that no means on earth can cure these evils, but a speedy and effectual unanimity and joint endevour, to restore the old principles of government by a supreme Governor, and a free Parliament of the States, as formerly hath been used. If they have any further advice therein, he earnestly desireth to be informed by them, assuring them that whatsoever they shall conclude meet to be done, in order to a settlement, he will endevour to accomplish the same to the sacrificing of his life, and all that is dear unto him. Hereunto an acclamation is made, and joint assurance manifested *that they all freely and fully consent to his opinion, and are ready to assist him therein to their utmost and give great thanks to* Gustavus *for his enterpriza and undertaking their rescue out of the Tirants hands, and earnestly request him to proceed to perfect the work, whereunto they will constantly contribute their prayers to God for his gracious help, and protection of his person: and for his further assurance, they do not onely acknowledge and promise submission to him as their lawful Governour, but they pray that it may not seem grievous unto him to take upon him the place and title of their lawful Lord and King.*

Gustavus answered, *That he took up armes against the common enemy of his country, he aimed not at rule, but at the liberty of his country, from the iron yoke of the* Danish *tyrannie, under which the people, their wives, children and estates lay bound, day and night: that he called not himself to the work, though he offered his assistance thereunto. That he was invited to command by the* Transilvanian Suedes *of the* Dales: *that his detestation of that abhorred butchery at* Stockholm (*wherein not onely many personages fit to do their country service, but many of his own blood and friends lost their lives and estates*) *did enrage his spirit so, as he thought nothing dangerous for him, to adventure to be revenged; and therefore did yield to the invitation of the men of the* Dales; *and if you also* (said he) *will join your aid in this work, and do like the cause, and can confide in my command,*

I shall not refuse to be your Captain and Governor, untill the enemy be fully vanquished, and the nation cleered from them: But as touching the making of a king, take you that into consideration when the war shall be fully finished, for then whosoever the States of Sueden *shall elect to be King or Governour, his will I be to serve in any condition.*

His speech was concluded with an unanimous vote and great joy of the whole assembly, with acknowledgment of *Gustavus* to be their Lord and Governor, and all sware fealty and faithful obedience unto him next under God.

This was a small Parliament, of a part of the nation, and intended for little other ends, then to assure those places that were under the war, and unite them to a more vigorous prosecution thereof, the success was great, for many Towns and Castles of the Countreys of *West-Gothland* and *Smalland* readily surrender unto *Gustavus*; their Deputies sent to the Council, being convinced of the justness of the cause, and they obliged in their judgments to agree to what their Deputies had concluded; so as these Counties there assembled by their Deputies, are now firm to their Countreys cause, and *Gustavus* finding less need of imploiment of so many soldiers in these neighbouring parts, sends a party further off into *Finnland*, to whom many of the people joined: Amongst whom, one *Grabb* a valiant man, and expert at sea, who having armed a few ships, assailed such places upon the coast as held for the *Dane* sometimes in one part, sometimes in another; surprising Townes, slaying multitudes, all done by night and he gone before the next morrow, no man knew whither, nor which way: This divided the enemies power to watch the several coasts, and in the mean time the *Suedes* greatest power sate down before *Abbo* although they were there hardly matched by the *Danes* and sometimes overmatched; for as yet that part of the Countrey had not felt the cruelty, yet the *Danish* Councils although they were determined

termined for that place as well as for other parts of *Sueden*.

The Caſtle of *Stockburgh* at length after more then half a years ſiege is taken by *Arvidus*, the Governour committed to priſon, but after two moneths ſubmitted to *Guſtavus* and ſware fealty to him: The Governour of the Iſle of *Gothland* ignorant hereof, came with a fleet well provided to relieve the Caſtle, but arriving at the Promontary was ſuddainly aſſailed by the *Suediſh* ſhips that lay behind the ſame: and after the loſs of ſix hundred of his men betook him to his wings. *Arvidus* afterward is ſent to block up *Calmar* with part of his army, the reſidue being ſent to the camp at *Stockholme*. for the *Daniſh* Admiral after his defeat before *Stockburgh* having repaired his loſs with new ſupplies of men and ſhipping came to relieve the *Danes* in *Stockholm*; and by his aid the *Danes* iſſued out of the City, and beat up one of the *Suedes* quarters, ſo as for a moneths ſpace, the City remained diſengaged.

Guſtavus finding by experience that *Stockholme* was a morſel too bigge for him to ſwallow, till he had further ſupply, he bends his principal induſtry for recovering of other places Gariſoned by the *Danes*; and amongſt others, the City of *Nicopen*, which is at length yielded to him by the Governour *Henry Kanzow*, with whom the *Daniſh* Tyrants Letters were found enjoining him to put to death all the *Suedes* coming within his power, eſpecially not to ſpare the Nobility: and as this man was more a man then himſelf to become a butcher of men at the Tyrants command; he liked it not in others, and therfore he told *Guſtavus* that Letters of the ſame ſence were ſent into other places; and he believed they would be put in execution; which fell out accordingly in *Finland*; for the Governor of *Abbo* (now viſited by the

Suediſh

Swedish forces that lay before the City, though not formally besieging the same) caused divers of the chief men of *Finnland* to be assassinated. But *Ericus Fleming* being warned beforehand, and now in the Governors power, offered his service with so many *Swedes* as adhered to the *Danes*, to adventure their lives to beat the *Swedes* before the City out of their quarters the night following: which the Governor liking well, assigned unto him such men as he desired. And the same night they entred the *Swedish* quarters but liked their entertainment so well, that they returned not again, but held ever after true to their own Countreys cause; so escaped *Ericus Fleming* by the favour of the *Danish* letters, which divers of the Countrey found to their smart soon after.

Gustavus having gained *Nicoper*, soon after the Castles of *Tinelsor* and *Westeraes* are also delivered up to him, the latter having indured nine moneths Siege. But finding all his labour at *Stockholm* lost unlesse he be stronger at Sea, he sends to *Lubeck* for men of War and Munition, they readily condescend thereto, in requital of the *Danish* oppression of them in their course of Trade: Nine ships within a few moneths are sent to *Gustavus* with Munition and Souldiers, who had a great desire to see *Gustavus* before they would ingage, and upon sight of him they all sware to be faithful to him. Part of these *Gustavus* appointed to the siege at *Calmar*, the other part he carried along with him to the Siege at *Stockholm* (as it was the policy of war amongst the Romans to divide their subsidiaries) and discharged the Countrymen to their several dwellings. Within a few dayes after eight ships of war more from *Lubeck* arrive at *Stockholm*: and thus being more secured at sea, *Gustavus* reinforces the siege in a more regular way then formerly.

The *Swedes* before *Abbo* finding the work too heavy for them, withdrew their forces, and the Governour now at liberty by order from the *Danish* Admiral, prepared a ship of war with munition and souldiers, for the relief of

of *Stockholm*, and upon a day early in the morning Coming to the foreland, sent out a Skiffe for discovery, which was intercepted by *Ericus Fleming*, now the Admiral of the *Swedish*, and he having cleared the men out of the Skiffe, and manned the same with *Swedes* in the same fashion, sent the same back, into which when the Governour of *Abbo* entred to inquire news, he was apprehended before he was aware, and carried away, and being hardly chased by the *Danish* Ships, they suddenly fall amongst the *Swedish* Ships, and were charged by them, and some were taken, others escaped. But the Governour of *Abbo* was brought prisoner to *Gustavus*, who hanged him on a tree for his cruel assassination of the nobility of *Finland*.

Within a few weeks after, the *Danish* Admiral came with five Ships for the relief of *Stockholm*, but being within view, and not likeing the Coast he returned. And *Gustavus* now finding the Sea safely guarded, he more earnestly proceeds in the siege, making his approaches to the Suburbs and by bridges closing his quarters. The City begins to feel distress and many escaping out of the same submit to *Gustavus*: And amongst the rest a Spie is sent out under colour of submission, to make discovery, and according as occasion served either to return to the City or to speed over into *Denmark*, to inform the King of the State of affairs, but this discoverer was discovered and searched and letters being found about him sown up in his apparel, was convicted and executed, this being supposed to be through information from some in *Stockholm*, holding correspondency with the *Swedes*, all are ordered to depart the City, but such as will take up arms for the defence thereof. On the other side, *Gustavus* upon intelligence of preparations, intended for relief of the *Danish* parties in *Sweden*, sends a party into *Norway* to begin a War there, which without any considerable opposition possessed themselves of the Province of *Wicken* and the Castle of *Charlsburgh*, the *Dane* being in no posture of making

ing war or defence, as his condition then stood.

For *Christiernus* the Second, then King of *Denmark* by Title of his unjustice and oppressions of his own people, invading the lives, liberties and estates of all sorts, his execrable murthers, and spoiles, committed upon all sorts of the people in *Sweden*; his Contumelious courage towards strangers; and his uncivil behaviour towards his own Queen sister to *Charles* the Fifth; having provoked all men, but more especially the *Duke* of *Holst*: He proclaimed war against the King. And the nobility of *Denmark* perceiving themselves distrusted by the King: And that he relied upon strangers intending to bring them into Government in *Denmark*; and rule the nation by force or rigor: Joyn with the *Duke* and invite him into *Jutland* where all men joyn with him also, *Christiernus* now to late, though too soon concluding the *Duke* to be King, leaves his place and the throne and provides himself elsewhere, shipping himself, his Queen and children and all his goods and treasure that he could scrape together, he sailes into *Germany*; first going to the *Duke* of *Randenburgh*, then to the Elector of *Saxony*: After some time he found means of raising an army for the recovering of his Kingdome, but by not keeping touch with them he lost both the army and Kingdome the second time, and dispairing of good issue goes into *Flanders* where he lost his Queen the greatest comfort that he had left in the world; not only in regard of her relation to the Emperour but in regard of her vertues, whereby she became so beloved of the *Danes*; that they offered to submit to her as their lawful Queen and Governour if she would stay in *Denmark*; but she like her self chose rather to be exiled with her husband then without him to reign.

This condition of affaires soon was known in *Sweden* and coming to the siege of *Calmar* and to them in the Castle, they were ordered to hold out as long as they could, and then to fire the City, and Ship themselves for the Ile of *Gothland*; but the Citizens informed hereof in the night time

time, opened their gates to the *Swedes*, who in a short time possessed the Castle, and soon after the Isle of *Oland*, and tidings hereof coming to *Stockholm* they offered conditions of surrender, but they were such as *Gustavus* would not hearken to them.

Now did the affairs in *Sweden* begin to promise a calm night at hand: and *Gustavus* thinks it convenient to entertain the occasion with a setled form of Government; and to this end summons a general meeting of all the States at *Strageness*: *To them he propounds the consideration of the present condition of* Sweden *now inclining to a quiet consistence, and how necessary it will be for the publick peace and justice of the nation, that the ancient form of government should be revived. That for the present they set the Nation without a supreme Magistrate and without a Senate; That the former hath murthered the later, and the people stalled the former: That he hopeth in a short time to render an account of the Nation re-united to a peaceable condition, which is the end of war; but some person must be elected to govern them in a peaceable condition, and a Senate must be constituted, that may according, to the ancient customs of* Sweden, *elect the supreme Governor. That they the States of* Sweden, *are the only first movers in this work, and have power to constitute this Senate anew and therefore he prayeth them to proceed according to their discretions for the settlement of the government, and such instruments as are necessary and conducing thereto.*

The States being their way clear before them, without any demur proceed in the election of a Senate of some of those of the former Senate which had escaped the enemies fury, and continued faithful; unto these they added others of the great men: and having constituted the Senate, they grant them the same powers and privileges, that the Senate in former times had; and particularly to elect one such person as they should think meet to be their lawful King or Governor.

Against all this might the Archbishop of *Upsal* and

other *Swedes* of the *Danish* party except, as illegal in many particulars, *What authority hath* Gustavus *to summon a Convention of States? or if he hath authority, yet it ought to be a Convention of all the Estates of the whole Nation: But as yet the whole Country of* Finland, *the Northern people, the Dukedom of* Bleking, *and* Stockholm *the chief City of the Nation, none of these are summoned nor subdued: and for a Convention of Estates of part of the Nation to undertake such works as the instituting of a Senate, and giving them such powers which must intrench upon the whole nation, and setling a form of Government upon all, is wholly against the laws and liberty of* Sueden.

If all the premisses be granted, yet is the conclusion, that they are against the laws and liberty of *Sueden* precarious: for a Council may be called by an extraordinary power, it may be imperfect in the members, and they may determine matters in manner disaccording to the ancient custome and law, and yet in matter not contrary to any law or custome, but tending to the settlement and restoring thereof. For an Historian saith well, *that sometimes the Magistracy and power are disjoyned, and it is harder to govern a Citizen, then conquer an enemy, and then is the Common-Wealth in that condition that it neither ought, nor can be governed by ordinary councils*; but more especially in the case of *Sueden*, where not onely power is disjoyned from the Magistracy, but the Magistracy of *Sueden* quite taken away; there being *de facto* neither lawful Supreme, nor Senate, nor Convention of States, that can be called by any lawful power according to the ancient ordinary rule (so as the government of *Sueden* is to be born anew) it cannot be the birth of any legal power, because legal power is the fruit of a legal government, and not the cause: and a legal government must be first setled by a power above, or without law, though not against law; because no legal Government can be before that, which is first setled.

The Senate being chosen and thus impowered by the con-

convention of the States of *Sweden*, and having understood their opinions, they do unanimously elect *Gustavus* their Governor, to be King of *Sweden*, and sent a message thereof to him, with their humble request that he would not refuse to take care of the entire Government of the Kingdom, and to perfect the work of restoring the liberty to the Nation, and vindicating the same from all tyrannie.

Gustavus having heard the message, answered, *That the burthen of Government of a Kingdom, was too heavy for him to bear; That it is one thing to be a Governour in war, wherein he was trained, and another thing to be a King wherein he had no skill; That he was well wearied with the dangers, cares, and labours of the war; That having brought the Nation into a posture of subsistence in peace, he hath his ends, and prayed them to rest contented therewith: and that they would bethink themselves on some other person of the Nobility of* Sweden, *and elect him to be their King, assuring them that himself would gladly serve in any posture under him whom they should chuse, and so thanking the Convention of States and the Senate, for their good opinion, he dismissed the Messengers.*

The States and Senate having heard the answer to their message, are in no wise satisfied therewith, they therefore renew their requests, the Popes Legate also joining with them, and they tell *Gustavus* plainly, they will not receive any negative nor can he so evade if he regard the Senate or Convention of the States, or the good of the people.

Gustavus is at length overswaied to accept of the place; and yet *abhorring all unworthy ends of self-seeking, he professeth his acceptance only upon the same grounds and ends that moved them in their election; yet he is convinced that the work is of that nature, that he is not able to go through therewith, but he must cast himself, and rest upon the God*

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of Sabbath for his assistance and protection, and next under him, upon the assistance of the Lords of Sueden, *the aid of whose wisdome, care and industry, and especially of the daily prayers of all the people, he earnestly beseecheth, and upon this account he submitteth to their desires.* And so according to the ancient Custome with mutual obligements upon Oath, *Gustavus* is solemnly declared, and proclaimed King of *Sueden*, yet refused to be Crowned by the space of five years following.

The demur of *Gustavus* was not without cause, he was a single person and had no Family to raise, there were Presidents before him of Governours that refused the title and were commended for it, and commonly where that Title goes, it carries more envy at it then there is cause; and besides, wisely foresaw, that it was harder to govern as a King in Peace, then as a Governour in War; for its observed by the Civilians, That a King hath a double work, and must have a double skill, one in the feats of Armes, another in the feats of Judicature. A Governour in *Sueden* might have the power to defend the Laws and Liberties, but not to Regulate unlesse specially Authorized. Like as a Protector in *England*, in the time of *Hen.6.* by the Parliaments Declaration had a power to defend the Laws and Liberties, but not to meddle with authority in Jurisdiction, but the Parliament lately granted the whole. Lastly, it is one thing for *Gustavus* to serve his Country as a General at a dead lift, and another thing to ingage himself in a harder work during his life. In all which regards it may be conjectured, that *Gustavus* had cause to give a stop to their earnest desires. Nevertheless the convention of States, and the Senate had more cause to insist on what they had begun. There was a King already above board: *Christiern* called in *Sueden*, the Tyrant, is called King amongst forreign Nations, and as a Governor formerly did consist with a King, and so might it now; and so forreign nations had been concluded to treat with *Gustavus* (being but Governor) as supreme Magistrate, so long

Ret. Parliam. 31 H.6. tit. 46

long as *Christiern* was King. But more particularly for the peoples sake; for though *Gustavus* might have cause to refuse that honourable title, and yet accept of the burthen of the service under another title; yet it must be acknowledged that the people have a right in the Title of their Supreme Magistrate, because the more noble the Head is, the more is the body honoured; and therefore in Justice *Gustavus* could not deny the people their right to continue a Kingdom as anciently they had done, if he would govern according to Justice: And if he would govern as a Governour of *Sweden*, he must follow the advice of the Convention of States, and the Senate; or else prefer his own wisdom beyond all theirs. And thus although the people for many years took touch at the name and Title of a King, as if it evermore carried Magnetical power to draw on Tyranny along therewith, and therefore gave their Supreme the Title of Governour: yet did they not hold that Title of Governour so sacred, as not to alter it when they saw cause; nor the Title of King so destructive, as for ever to abominate the same, especially when they are well perswaded of the wisdome and moderation of the person that is Crowned therewith.

But I cannot let passe one thing in the summoning of this Convention of States; that it was promiscuously into all the Counties and places lately conquered without exception of persons, and not inquiring whether well affected or disaffected; certainly, either *Gustavus* was of a candid disposition and not given to surmise; or if otherwise he advisedly laid them aside (as well he might having an Army that commanded the field) knowing that Jelousies are mutual, and are repaied in the same coin that they bring, and so like to maintain perpetual distance between him and the people, according to the opinion of *Claudius* the Emperor unto the Senate of *Rome* upon the like occasion of admitting the *Gauls* to be Senators of *Rome*; the people of *Rome*, saith he, in the daies of *Romulus*, consist of di- *Tacit. Annal.* 11.
vers peoples that in one and the same day were enemies and

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Citizens: and nothing was more destructive to the *Lacedemonian* and *Athenian* Government, then this, They ever held such as they Conquered under the condition of Aliens. Now whether it was out of principles of good nature, or council that *Gustavus* took this care, all is one, the successe was happy, all are unanimous for making of him King.

The first thing that was done after the election of the King, was the requital of the *Lubeckers* for the adventure of their men, ships, and estates, jointly with, and for the *Suedes* in this dangerous work against the King of *Denmark*, and in recompence thereof, the *Suedes* granted that they would never make peace with the *Danes* without the consent of the *Lubeckers*. That upon the surrender of *Stockholm*, such wares, goods and debts therein, as the *Lubeckers* and *Dantzickers* should own upon Oath, shall be secured and returned to them; That the *Lubeckers* shall be paied for their service. That the Sea should be free for them, and that they should have a Free-trade in the Country of *Sueden*. That only they amongst Forreign nations should have Free trade in the Ports of *Stockholm*, *Calmar*, *Surcopen*, and *Abbo*. That the King shall do them right. That the King shall never set prizes of any of their Merchandise, or compel them to sell, or leave their goods against their wills. That the goods and estates wracked, shal be restored to their owners without loss. That their goods sold in *Sueden* by mariners or servants without order, shall be restored to their owners, and the offendors punished. That the King of *Sueden* shall not harbour any of the enemies of *Lubeck*. That if any difference shall arise between the *Suedes* and *Lubeckers*, the same shall be ordered by four Lords of *Sueden*, sent to *Lubeck*, and so many Citizens of *Lubeck* joining with them. These amongst other agreements were registred and made instrumental under the hands and Seals of the King, and Lords of *Sueden*, and Commissiones of *Lubeck*. A full recompence to the City of *Lubeck* in matter of Trade, although no o-

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ther paiment had been agreed, had the Citizens of *Lubeck* been so happy as to have been as careful to keep touch with the *Suedes* as they did with them.

Soon after this agreement is *Stockholm* surrendred into the Kings hands, who entred the same in the month of *June*; after well nigh three years siege, time enough for the *Danes* to have releeved it, if they had been convinced of any right, that they had to the Kingdom of *Sueden*. Upon the Kings entry he is proclaimed therein King of *Sueden* and *Gothland*; with great applause and joy of all sorts. This brings forth divers surrenders of Townes and Castles; and in the rere of the Dukedome of Bleking and the Town and Castle of *Elsburgh*, the only Commodious port that the *Suedes* have into the Western Sea. Yet the great Dukedome of *Finland*, and the adjacent Countries are out of the Kings possession: And therefore beginning now to study good Husbandry in the warre for the profit of his people whom now he must own; he dismisseth the forrein forces; and the residue of his Army he sends into *Finland* under the Command of *Ivar* and *Ericus Fleming*, who reduced all that Country into obedience within the space of one year, but the Northern people submitted upon the credit of their neighbours; and thus the whole Kingdom is imbodied under the Kings Command: now nothing remaineth for him, but to study peace and justice; and first he makes peace with the *Muscovites*, for other Nation he need not fear having none to border upon him, but the *Muscovite* on the East, and the *Dane* of the West, and as touching the *Dane*, their condition was this.

Frederick Duke of *Holst* as hath been mentioned coming to *Denmark*, by the Lords of *Denmark* is elected King and Crowned divers years before *Gustavus* was Crowned King of *Sueden*; although *Gustavus* was in armes divers years before him. Both these in the conclusion coming to the throne upon one title of the peoples liberty and well knowing how necessary peace with one another

would be: A mutual treaty is propounded by the King of *Denmark*, and in order thereunto, an interview is propounded by the King of *Sueden*; wherein he stood not upon punctilioes, but offered to come unto the King of *Denmark*, in some convenient place upon security of safe conduct: and the King of *Denmark* is not more nice in tendring such security as shall be demanded: The place of meeting is at *Ancona* in the confines of *Scania*, where in the presence of the Lords of both Nations, an interview is had between both Kings, and after mutual salutations and observances: The King of *Denmark begins with a Commemoration of the miseries and calamities befallen both Nations for divers years last past; and mention of the present dangers, incumbent upon them by the continuall contrivances of Christiern the late King, and that the same will be much more hightned by continuing the discord of the two neighbouring Nations, therefore he was for his part desirous of peace and concord with the King of Sueden upon just and honorable terms: Gustavus answered that to the proposal of peace between the Nations; he held it not only convenient but commendable, and he was very willing to hearken thereunto upon equal conditions:*

The King of *Denmark* begins with a proposal of the continuing of the union of the three Northern Kingdomes, according to the Articles of *Calmar*; which he said was established by oath of the deputies of all the said Nations, yet he said he desired not any change in the present Government of *Sueden*; only he would that *Gustavus* should acknowledg him superiour: *Gustavus* secretly disliking the beginning, *Modestly* answered, *that for his part he was unwillingly drawn to enter into the Swedish Throne: That he could wish the flourishing condition of both Nations could be under one head; but the agreement of Calmar was dissolved by the misgovernment of the former Kings and Governours of Denmark: And if the Danes could not all this while gain their expectations by force of armes, much lesse can they think it rational for the Swedes to yeeld up*

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by intreaty the liberties of their Country, which are dearer to them (as these late warrs can testifie) then their own lives. Neither can himself who is sworn to maintain the liberties of his Country of Sweden allow of such terms, much less advise his people to consent thereto. Yet for this part though he would not be a subject, yet desired to be a friend faithful and true to the King of Denmark, and to be ready to gratifie him in all things agreeable to equity.

The King of *Denmark* perceiving that himself was not in the right way, falls flat upon another point, and in plain termes tells the King of *Sweden*, That *himself was desirous of a firm league and peace with him, if Sweden would be contented with its antient limits, and would yeild up what they in these warrs had incroached upon, and gained from the* Danes, *especially the Dukedom of* Bleking.

The King of *Sweden* answered, That *himself valued the peace of both Nations beyond that petty Dutchie, and therefore would consult with his Lords touching it. And accordingly afterward it was accorded.*

But as to the proposal concerning the Ile of *Gothland*, the matter proved full of difficulty; it was in the possession of the Danes, but claimed as belonging to the Crowne of *Sweden*: yet after many words they come to agreement by consent to lay that debate aside till a more convenient time. And thus the Peace was concluded between both these Kingdomes, as well for themselves as the Hanse Townes against *Christiern* the deposed: and all the Swedish Captives in *Denmark* are now set at libertie, and such of the Swedes as formerly had any particular interest in *Denmark* are restored to their right.

This questionlesse was wisely done of these two Kings thus to seek for mutual peace each with other, and for the particular peace of their several Nations within themselves. But if the wisdome of God consent not to all, the wisdomes of men are vain. A spiritual disease was then newly breeding in *Germany*, that soon grew to be almost epidemical in those eastern parts. Gospel light was new-

ly sprung out of Popish darkness, discovering the very bowels of the Romish Religion to be a meer garbage of pride and covetousness. The divel espying the danger, raises up another light, or a thing as like to light, as himself is, when he is transformed into an Angel of Light; He saw the people inclining much to seek their Civil liberty, as well as their Christian liberty from the slavery under the Romish yoke of spiritual tyranny: This he colourably helps on by a company of Professors pretending a light of a more perfect way of holiness by a second Baptisme, tholishing Idolatrous worship, much tenderness of conscience, and making conclusions thereupon, That men of light must walk according to their light, and therefore not bound by other Law, and so no need of Magistracie or Ministry; nay, those Ordinances savor of Antichristian Tyranny. Those outsides are lovely in the eyes of the multitude, they also can profess such things, and be of that gang, why may they also then not injoy their liberty? Then they rise and run up and down *Germany*, and like the sea waves, swallow up, or bear all down before them till they dash against some Rock, and thereon break themselves.

But before this storm, two drops fall upon *Sweden* by the coming over of two men with the *Holland* Merchants during the interview of these two Kings, these two were *Melchior Rinous* and *Knopper Dolling*, who arriving at *Stockholm* instil new Principles into the people; afterward they enter into the Church and down with Images and Organs, and all such as they will call tokens of Idolatry; and make invectives against publick Worship and the Clergy as Antichristian, and that it were much better to have none at all.

Gustavus the King returning to *Stockholm* from concluding a foreign peace, finds now more need to look homeward, and finding the tumultuous Reformation, and the sad principles taken up, he commits the two Evangelists to prison, and afterwards banished them, but yet the waves are not so quieted.

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The news of this reformation at *Stockholm* spreads far and wide over the Nation, and liberty is so welcome to all being newly come from under a Tyrannie, that even good Government is brought into question, and the King sees no way to pacification, but to cast over-board to the people somewhat to keep the Whale from overturning the ship: and finding that he must adventure a breach with the Pope, who had lately sent a special Legate, the Cardinal *De Portentia*, with authority to enquire of the bloody massacre made by *Christiern* at *Stockholm*, thereby to vindicate him from all imputation of so horrible a crime, and that the Legate upon examination had judicially pronounced sentence, that nothing was done therein by *Christiern* but what was just and right. *Cypr.* An. Eust. Selwic. *fol.* 408.

He tells the people he will visite all the Churches in his own person and will see to a reformation by advice of learned men, and accordingly a visitation of the Churches throughout the nation is made by the King in person, to inform himself in the state of them, and coming to *Upsal* he findes opposition from the Archbishop and the Canons there; hereupon a disputation is ordered wherein the King himself is President. And after he summons all the States of *Sueden* to meet: to whom he relates what he found in his visitation, and propounds to their consideration to direct in some moderation in the point of reformation, in the doctrine and worship of God, and in calming the violence of the Catholick Clergy, which drive so strong against the work of Reformation: as also in regulating their abuse of the Church-maintenance, spent in pride and luxury, that ought to be imploid for the saving of the peoples souls.

If the matter be made to appear upon enquiry, the Lords are of opinion that the temporalties belonging to the Clergy may and ought to be seised, and the Church maintenance also secured for the right uses and ends that they were appointed for.

The Ecclesiasticks declaim against this, affirming, *That the Church-priviledges and revenues, were granted and confirmed*

formed to the Church Kings and Emperors, and ought not to by invaded under peril of damnation: Whereunto was replied, *That the true Elders are worthy of double honour, both of Reverence and maintenance: But such as are slow-bellies, neither serving God nor man, ought not to have the Church-maintenance, and if some Kings have against all equity prevailed the same, other succeeding Kings may, and ought, reform the same. That there is not one period in all the Scriptures, that warranteth such power in Churchmen, or countenanceth such vain manner of living, especially in an unlawful way of opposing the civil Magistrate as hath been used in Sweden by the space of these hundred years last past.*

The States hereupon determine, *That the Church Revenues are in the power of the King according to the condition of times to encrease, maintain, or diminish, as may best conduce to the safety of true Religion in doctrine, and establishment of the pure worship of God, and holiness of life.*

Now comes a storm of imputations, and execrations, and what not? foreign Nations are made to believe that the King is an Atheist, and the common people in *Sweden*, that they obey a Divel in the shape of a man. The King slights these Scare-crowes as all Princes that fix their Councils upon good foundations must resolve to do; *Cæsar himself was convitiated by* Cicero *(no mean person) and yet he endured it patiently: And the advice of* Mecenas *and* Livia *to* Augustus *Was not to pardon offences against the Commonwealth, but to pass by railing imputations against his person in regard they cannot hurt a Prince crowned with honorable deserts, and guarded by an army of soldiers.*

Dion *Hist. lib.* 38. & 53.

Nevertheless the common people in *Sweden* are enraged hereby, and amongst these the *Dalcarles* that were the first in vindicating the peoples liberty, are now the first that appear to maintain themselves and the people in bondage: *The common people for want of understanding, are many times like froward children, pleased with nothing, they can*

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neither be contented with perfect liberty, nor endure perfect Tacit. Hist. l. 1.
bondage; they know not what to desire, and yet like not to be as they are.

Nevertheless the *Dalcarles* being now in their motion, hold on, but who shall be their leader, they know not, at length one is discovered that is called *Nicholas Stur*, and called the son of *Steno Stur* the late Governor of *Sweden*. This *Nicholas Stur*, whether so easily, or onely in fancy inclinated by the vogue of the people, the issue must cleer forth; but the rumor once raised, though but of yesterdaies birth, takes with the people who are ready to believe new and strange things, and thereupon he ascends the stage in *West-Gothland*, to act for the old Church-government; where also the people, led by the greatness of the name (as was was said concerning *Drusus*, voiced to be alive) Tacit. Annal. 5.
joined with him and so the war is now become the Bishops war.

The King hears and sees all, the hatred and practices of these men move him not; *Plutarchs* observation fits this occasion: "He that falls into a Throne by hap, is as one "that falls suddenly into a pit, and is surprised with fear, "and repentance; but he that descends thereinto by de- "grees, is prepared to endure with moderation what befalls, "and resolved against all opposition that shall occur. This was the King of *Swedens* case, he shewed magnanimity in the field, but never more then in this case; he is but newly a King, and contrary to all principles of policy he is put upon a hard task (to change Ecclesiastical government, and to trench upon the formerly received Religion) for he that will contend about Religion, according as the cause is, must resolve to sail against wind and tide, either from heaven or hell, or else must not that man launch into the deep: and therefore although the King was very couragious, yet this daring adventure I must attribute to his faith, rather then his valour. And he met with success accordingly; for the *Dalcarles* not finding that bravery of spirit in their new Governour, that might become a son of that famous

Steno,

Steno, begin to suspect themselves to be in danger of a cheat (for the common people do fancy that a spirit for Government goes along in the blood, and that the son of an honourable or Princely person hath somewhat born in him, that qualifies him for command above other men) and therefore they secretly send to *Steno Sturres* widow for enquiry, who tells the messengers plainly that they were deceived, and that her son *Nicholas* was long since dead. This message returned, caused the *Dallcarles* to withdraw their assistance, fearing that the cause of Religion will not bear them out, unless patronized by one of the Royal blood of *Sueden*. The *Dallcarles* now gone, the spright vanishes, and is to be found no where, untill he makes an apparition at *Rostock* and there at the instance of the King of *Sueden* is put to death, and also some others of his party in *Sueden* served in like manner, and so the storm is appeased.

Yet the people are like the sea still; a famine comes upon the land, and the Churchmen tell the people that this is the fruit of their innovation in matters of Religion (that is now Gods anger which at other times is attributed to second causes) the people are again angry, & refuse to pay the Kings tribute. The King tells them, that few of them understand Gods word, and fewer of them can rightly determine of his works. That their stop of his tribute shall not stop him, he soon gathers an army and marches to *Westeraas*, and sends a message to them of the *Dales* forewarning them of his coming, requiring them to meet with him at *Terna*, ready either to fight for their cause, or otherwise to submit themselves and begge his pardon for their enterprize.

The *Dallcarles* like not the choice, yet must do somewhat; fain they would hold their old way of the Churchmens interest, yet chuse rather to submit and hazard their opinion then their lives. The issue is, some of them are corporally punished, others rebuked and sent home giving security for their good behaviour, and in like manner others

others in other places are ſerved. Only the Arch-Biſhop of *Upſal*, being one of the Popes ſons in *Sweden* is permitted as a male content to baniſh himſelf from his native Country.

The King returned to *Weſteraſt*, and conſidering with himſelf the danger of the Nation, by the bad lives of the Church-men, and their neglect of the peoples Souls, and their unweariable indeavour to bring his Government into diſlike with the people, and his perſon into contempt by imputations of ſcandal, of Hereſie and Blaſphemy; and that ſome iſſue muſt be ſpeedily brought hereof, or all would come to confuſion; he calls a Convention of the States of *Sweden*, and propounds to them, *To take into conſideration the ſtate of the Nation, that they all knew That he neither ſought, nor willingly undertook the Government of the ſame; That they all promiſed to be aſſiſtant unto him therein, without which it is impoſſible for him to go through therewith; That he now, contrary to expectation, findeth the people much diſſatisfied through the inſtigation of the Church-men, whoſe Lordſhip and power amongſt them, you all know to be ſuch as is now put into the Balance with the Kings, and their luxury, pride and idleneſs, all the world knows to be ſuch as is inconſiſtent with the duty of their places, the good of the people, and righteous Government; That their Caſtles and temporal revenues are obſtructed from the ſervice and ſafeguard of the Nation, to maintain diſſentions, mutinies and rebellions; That for his part, he muſt rather ceaſe to be a King, then to ſee all things in confuſion under his Government; and therefore I require, ſaith he, ſome order to be taken by the Convention of States for regulating hereof, or elſe I am reſolved to lay down my Government and leave it to them that can manage it to better purpoſe; and hereof I deſire a poſitive, ſpeedy anſwer from you the Biſhops and other States of this Nation.*

But the Biſhops ears are deaf as to thoſe things, their Authority and Revenues were dearer to them then to part

with them for words; They thought they had the King at an advantage, and they would hold it; and the major part of the other States overſwayed by the Biſhops, did not ſo readily and reſolvedly appear for the King as they ought to have done, fearing the Popes thunderbolt more then the Kings diſpleaſure.

The King hereat diſpleaſed, ſaid, He would never adventure one drop of *Swediſh* blood more to maintain his Government by a Civil War, wherein the vanquiſhed muſt be miſerable, the vanquiſher unjuſt, and friends muſt deſtroy one another: and forthwith entring into the Convention of States reſigned up his Kingdom and Government, asking nothing but a recompence for his ſervice, and that they would take his inheritance at a moderate value, and ſo he departed into the Caſtle. *Octavius only debated with the Senate about laying down his Government, but did it not*; Guſtavus *did it, and debated not. They that make Government their Work, will be glad of Reſt; but they that make it their ſport, the people will be ſooner weary of them, then they of it.* It was it ſeems *Guſtavus* his lot to miſſe of thoſe encouragements of aſſiſtance from the Convention of States which was promiſed when he undertook the Government, and for him to perſiſt in Governing without them, in order to the maintaining of the peoples liberties, was vain, and therefore if herein he imitated ſome examples of his Anceſtors he may be the rather excuſed, although thereby the Nation be now under a condition of confuſion.

Dion. Hall. lib. 5

Dion. Hiſt. l. 51 *Sueton.* in vit. octav.

The next day the States met again, and in cool blood told the Biſhops That the Kingdome muſt not ruine to ſatisfie their Luſts; that if the Biſhops will not be equal judges between themſelves and the people, others muſt: Nevertheleſs they ſhall once more be heard what they can ſay in their own behalf, and thereupon a Conference is appointed, wherein Dr. *Olans* appeared for the King, and Dr. *Gallen* for the Biſhops, and the point concerning Eccleſiaſtical power and priviledges is debated at large; which

which Conference the longer it lasted, the more it touched the quick, and many of the hearers altered their opinions as touching the Prelacy; so as upon the third day the voters for the *people undertake the cause, and urge it positively upon the Bishops to submit to the King, but if they meaned otherwise to expose the Country to extremity, and harme come thereby, they vowed to be revenged upon the authors thereof, and thereunto the greatest part of the Nobles accord.* At length the majority of Votes prevailed, and a message is sent into the Castle to *Gustavus* by a person of quality, to beseech him to return to the Convention of Estates, but it prevailed not, and a second message prevailed as little; but the third message by persons of nigh relation to him, was so effectually presented, that he yielded to come to the Convention, and was received by all the States with the greatest observancy that could be. All saying in one humble request, That he would not reject the Government in such doubtful condition of affairs, promising him also their utmost faithful assistance. The King considered with himself, that though it was an ill condition for him to be alwayes working and never do the work; yet it was much worse to forbear, and be weary before he attained the shore, for that is the next door to drowning; and therefore he takes up resolution not to passe for mens opinions or censure, but to go on and to see what issue he can br ng to the Councils of the Convention of Estates.

At last the conclusion is, That the Bishops shall surrender up their Castles and Temporalties unto the Kings disposal, and submit to live upon such pensions, as shall be allowed them by the States, saving evermore th e titles, interests and rights of the Nobility and others, to any part of the said Temporalties, as by the distemper of the times had been incroached upon. But in the executing hereof some time was spent, many being loath to disrobe themselves before they went to bed.

Those that were worst affected were sooneſt at the is-

fue, as desperate persons through conscience of their guilt conclude no mercy to be had, as good pass the Pike at the first, as at last.

Only the Bishop of *Hincopen* was loath to part with his Castle of *Monkbed*, and held some debate, but in conclusion was ordered to give possession at a day prefixed, and in the mean time security to perform the same, and maintain the publick peace. The King would not discharge his Army, till all was done, and therewith marched at the day appointed to the Castle at *Monkbed*, and was sumptuously feasted by the Bishop, who gave that content to the King, that he discharged the Bishops sureties, and at his request allowed him to visit the Churches in *Gothland*, wherein having gained much treasure without taking leave of the King he took shipping, sailed to *Dantzick*, where after some yeats he dyed. And thus did *Sweden* lead an example to the Eastern nations for regulating the Church Revenues to the right ends for which they were intended.

Gustavus having now been King above five years since his Election, and having thus far prevailed to pare the nails and clip the wings of the Lordly Clergy, thinks he may more safely give himself up to the importunate advice of the States, and give them more assurance of his setling upon Goyernment by becoming a Crowned King, and thereupon he appoints a day of Solemnization of his Coronation at *Upsal*, which was accomplished accordingly, after the King had served at the helm of Government seven years.

Tiberius the Emperour (speaking for the advantage of *Silanus* who had not gained any great esteem for his carriin a private life) said that some mens spirits by great imployments, are innobled to greater undertakings, others are dulled: *Gustavus* his spirit alwayes daring grew more brave by occasion he is not now contented with reducing the Prelacy, his aimes are yet higher at reformation in Doctrine, in Worship, and holiness of life. And herein

in he first places in all the Cathedrals, men eminent for holiness, learning, and eloquence to preach the word of God, and enjoyned the Bishops to provide out of the Church-maintenance pensions, such as might encourage them in their work: The King observed likewise set times weekly to hear in his own person the gifts of those men, before he sent them forth as well to satisfie his own conscience in sending them, as to give encouragement to others to attend upon publick Ordinances. Love of emulation herein by imitation, being more prevalent with people, 1593. An. 3.
then penaltie of Law and fear. But now comes the pinch. The States had agreed and the Prelates in shew submitted as touching their temporalities; but as to reformation in Doctrine, Worship and Conversation; the Divel is not so easily ejected out of the whole Nation of *Sueden* at once: The Minister that was sent to *Scarin* to preach, had such a scare by the Bishop and his party, that he was inforced to get away to *Upland* to save his life; and the Rector of the Colledg undertaking to expound *Saint Matthew* Gospel, was in danger of being stoned by the scholars, incouraged thereto by the Lords and great men, who became joint-partners with the Bishops in this adventure. Some of the great men and common people also of *West-Gothland* hearing hereof bestir themselves, not for the Bishops sake say they, but for this religion now invaded by the new German Doctrine of *Luther*; and upon this account they send letters to *Smaland* to stir them up to arms, who are readily induced thereto, and seize upon the persons of such as will not joyn with them; and amongst the rest upon the Countess of *Hoy* the Kings own Sister; they also send letters to the *Dales* & other neighbouring provinces to send their deputies to a meeting by them appointed at *Larva*, so short and unhappy is the love of the people: Thus the scene of the war is changed; and though tyranny was in the Mann and Prelacy in the main battel, yet Popery brought up the reare, all tending in the conclusion to reduce the Nation into its old condition, rather then indure such change. So unsensible are men of their present happiness:

For

For peace and concord to the conquered brings profit, to the conquerour onely pleasure.

This storme the King might rationally have expected by him what he found in the case of Prelacy; yet his courage leads on even to wonderment having nothing to back him herein, but Gods cause and a good conscience. *That advantage hath the change of Religion above a Toleration, that the one may be more safely undertaken, and may be according to Gods will revealed: The other supposing Toleration of error can never be safe, because it can not be according to Gods revealed will which is but one, as the truth is but one: There is somewhat also in natural reason that crosseth it, else had not the Lawes of the twelve Tables provided against it; nor the old Romans insisted, that none but the Roman Gods should be worshiped in Rome; and that only after their own Country manner. And the Emperors in after-ages decried it, as an inlet to profanness, as they call it.*

Cic. de Leg. lib. iv. Lib. 10.

Nevertheless however the censure of politicians might pass upon the Kings wisdom in this matter; yet the issue justifies him: for the inhabitants of *West-Gothland* observing that the generalty of the people, who had sworn allegeance to the King made demur upon the matter, and reflected upon their engagements; the Kings merits, their present peace and enjoyment of their liberties, and Laws, and that as to the point of Heresy objected against the King, it was without the compass of their knowledg and (considering the Kings piety it was more then they would believe to be true, but rather to be looked upon, as a false scandal raised by his enemies: Hereupon the Lords of the confederacy grew into difference amongst themselves; and the Bishop and one other of them fled into *Denmark*, where being sometime entertained, the Kings letters pursued them, alledging that it was contrary to their agreement, that neither King should harbour the enemies of other, and so they fled to *Mecklerburgh*, but the other Lords of the confederacy (forgetting what they had done) stood upon their justification without any conditions, alledging that they were enforced to do what they had done by the heads that were absent in forrein parts. And that they never

never promoted nor encouraged the defection of any by advice, letters or instructions; but only for sometime intended connivence for the Kings service, and upon this accompt would stand to their trial at law. The King and Council wondred at their confidence, and advised them to submit to the Kings mercy and crave pardon: but they refused favour, other then what the law would allow. The King at length produced to them their own letters to stir up the Provinces to armes; and so being self-condemned two of them suffered death, one was ransomed, and the rest begging pardon, were received to mercy. An excellent temperature in execution of Justice commends the King in his new begun Kingdom, making the people both to fear and love him; Not as *Pompey*, of whom it was said that his punishments were too great for the crime: Nor as *Civilis* carried away with an opinion of courting the people by clemency. The one works in the people fear with hatred, the other presumtion and boldness to offend. And thus was this stir, for) war I cannot call it) about Popish religion laid asleep and mastered, not with sweat or labour of the King, but by God alone whose cause it was. *Tacit. Ann. l. 5. Hist. 4.*

The King saw somewhat in the King of *Denmark*'s carriage in this matter, that suited not with the former agreement made between them, and not liking that the same should remain blurred in the least point (as it is the wisdom of men that will preserve friendship, to stop the breach whiles it is small) he prevailed for another interview to understand the mindes of each other more fully, and by this last interview theformer agreement is explained, enlarged, and confirmed and parting in love they return with joy.

The King of *Sueden*, now after so many stormes, hopes for peace, and a setled Government, and after three years crowned King, bethinks himself of building up his own family by marriage, and thereof solemnizeth the accomplishment with the Lady *Katharine* the Duke of *Saxony's* daughter at *Stockholm*: so as the King that heretofore was a souldier of fortune, hath now given pledges to fortune: he now must abide the issues and events of the af-

affairs of the Nation to be theirs for the better or worſe; and what he was formerly bound to do meerly for the Nations ſake, he muſt now do for the ſake of his own family and relations: and having thus laid the foundation of his own houſe, he further proceeds in the building up of the houſe of God, for although he had ſeiſed the temporalties of the Prelates, yet their places, ſo far as conduced to the Church-government, he took not away, nor that maintenance which was appointed for the Miniſtery: and beſides, the States did ſetle penſions upon ſuch as ſhould be appointed to be Over-ſeers or Biſhops, to have care of the Churches: and unto theſe places the King had, as formerly was mentioned, ſent choice men for gravity, learning, and holy life: and now he advanced two brethren, Dr. *Laurentius* and Dr. *Olaus*; the one to be Archbiſhop of *Upſal*, the other to be Biſhop of *Stockholm*. Through whoſe vigilancy and induſtry, eſpecially amongſt other reformed Biſhops, the reformation of Religion proceeded ſucceſſefully in the Nation during their lives, which was for the ſpace of about thirty years, and through their care and ſtudy principally, the Tranſlation of the Bible into the *Swediſh* language, was publiſhed and diſperſed into every Town in the Nation.

But the time of reſt is not yet come, a ſtrange apparition from the *Belgick* ſhore aſcendeth upon the coaſt of *Norwey*: *Chriſtierne* the former King I mean, now long ſince reputed as buried in *Brabant*, in privacy had now at the charge of the Emperor and ſome adventurers in *Holland* and other places of that neighborhood, hoping for large immunities from *Denmark* or *Norwey* (in caſe it could be regained) gathered ſoldiers and munition, and with five and twenty ſhips, ſailed from *Encuſen* to the coaſt of *Norwey*, but through ſtormes having loſt ten of their ſhips, onely with the reſt arriveth there; where not being aware they are ſurpriſed and impriſoned by the Ice all that winter. Yet *Chriſtiern* was at liberty all that while to work his deſignes upon that Countrey of *Norwey*, the ſeaſon being ſuch

such as the *Danes* despaired of any possibility to march for their relief: So many therefore of the great men of *Norwey*, as pleased; came and corresponded with *Christierne*, without control, Only the Governour of *Aggerhouse* Castle dealt subtilly declining to surrender to *Christierne* otherwise then might he be in the most honorable way. Saying that he acknowledged *Christierne* to be King of the three *Northern* Nations; yet for the Honour of the Governours Family, he desired of *Christierne* that he might have liberty to write to *Frederick* the now King of *Denmark* for present relief (which in comon considerat on could not be had during winter) otherwise he must surrender the Castle to King *Christiern*, & by this means said the Governour your majesty can be no loser, and my honour is saved. *Christierne* was contented therewith and the Governour dispatched a messenger into *Denmark*; and notwithstanding Ice and cold, had such supply, as he thereby is fortified, and stands upon his own defence. And *Christierne* prepares for a siege: During this time as the besieged had been relieved by the *Danes*; so the besiegers were relieved not only by the *Normans* but by many runnegadoes out of *Sueden*; such was their old love to *Christierne* & hatred to *Gustavus*, & these flocked to *Christierne* from all parts, and solicited the *Dallcarles* (who were in displeasure of the King upon an occasion then emergent) to revolt with them to their old King: *Who, they were assured through afflictions was become quite another man changed into a meek and compassionate nature and gracious carriage, & would doubtless embrace them kindly and give them all assurance, they told the* Dalcarles *also that forreign Princes would assist him, for that they like not such examples of subjects deposing their Kings: And above all the rest they might rest assured, they should be received again into th bosom of the Church and favor of the Pope*: They and many other such good things the *Dallcarles* heard, but as old birds not so easily catched, few of them give any credit at all, & many deride them, they know wel that *nature is no changling unless by supernatural grounds overpowered, that the manner of* Christiern's *coming shewed little repentance other then for his departure with the Crown upon so easy terms, that a King*

rejected by his people, is as a wound in the head, for which a plaister is hard to be found; That in such cases a good report is easily made, but the truth must appear upon trial; That before trial there is no trusting, that after trial there is no remedy; That the differences between them and Gustavus their King are but in the inception, and may soon be composed, but between them & Christierne, *are beyond all ending.* The revolting *Swedes* hereupon disappear, and the winter now wasted, and *Christierne* finding his party discouraged, and the stream still after six years expectation so strong against him, and weary of living upon the *German* courtesie, chuseth now rather to cast himself upon a treaty with his Uncle the King of *Denmark*, and receives conditions from the *Danish* admiral of his safe conduct to him upon tearmes of treaty with his Uncle, or otherwise to have liberty to go at large.

Thus *Christierne* overcome, either by necessity or want of advice, not enquiring whether the admiral was impowered to grant such conditions or not, committed himself to the Admiral, sails into *Denmark*, and before he is aware becomes in state of a prisoner during life, gaining only this advantage, that he was now maintained honourably upon the publick faith of the nation, as one that formerly had been King thereof, which otherwise being at large, must have been upon the courtesie of such as meaned to be courteous. And yet it is observable that the *Danish* Admiral had no thanks for this piece of service; And many thought that it would have been more advantageous for *Denmark* if the Prisoner had been at large in any Foreign Nation. For though it be true that deposing of Kings by their subjects is sadly reflected upon by Princes; yet it is only where the sore is green, and the flesh tender, and then it may occasion some anger from abroad for the present, but after tryal once made, and no gain thereby gotten: Foreign Princes love their own interest by a quiet and peaceable Government, so wel, as by continuance the wound breeds stupefaction, and they will engage no more.

Now

Now as touching *Sweden* who was not meanly concerned in this affair at *Norwey*, it is obſervable how the wound between the King and the *Dallcarles* was firſt made, for though the occaſion was ſmall, the miſchief might have been exceeding great.

The matter was briefly thus, The Kings debts to the *Lubeckers*, for their ſervice in the wars, were not yet fully paied, and now paiment is required with ſome earneſtneſs, but how the ſame ſhould be ſatisfied, or how to be levied, is the queſtion that endured much debate: ſome were of opinion for a tax, but this was thought would go hardly down with a people exhauſted with a ten years war; others are of opinion, that the profits of the Mines might be aſſigned to the *Lubeckers* for certain years, but they cannot find a way to maintain the Government in the mean time without them. At length a project is propounded, to give the King the biggeſt Bell ſave one out of all the Churches of his Dominion: this was alleadged would do the work, and be no particular prejudice to any man, nor loſs to the publick. A great miſtake this was, as things then ſtood, for the Merchants had engroſſed much copper, and if this proceeded, they are undone, they can get no market: but this was no good reaſon, being of a too private nature, to ballance againſt the publick good. Then the quarrel i at the condition of theſe Bells, it is ſaid they are anointed and conſecrated to a holy uſe, and ought not to be waſted for profane uſes: but this alſo is of little force, the opinion being grounded on ſuperſtitious principles, as was then conceived: and be it granted that the manner of appointment of them to their uſes there, was ſuperſtition, by anointing and conſecrating, and that the firſt uſes intended, might be ſuperſtitious, yet if any property at all be in ſuch devoted things in any that properly remaineth, untill it be legally deſtroied, and untill then the ſeiſing of ſuch things into any other hands will fall under the notion of ſacriledge in the common opinion, which alwaies hath been abominable, even to the heathens, though done in the wild

warres, and therefore when *Cæsar* would make *Pompey* odious, and advance his own merit, he charges against *Pompey*, that he had pillaged *Hercules* his Temple, and carried many of the spoils to *Gades*, which *Cæsar* caused to be restored to the Temple again, and the Town-Clerk of *Ephesus* intimates no less, when in staying the uprore, he tells them, the Apostles had not been robbers of their Churches: or if it comes not under that notion, then it must be in nature of a gift to the people of the Parish, either for their pleasure, or other conveniency of calling them to the publick duties; in both which cases the unlawful seisure of them is looked upon, as a common plunder and invasion of the goods of the whole body of the people at once; and as a sad presage that no mans particular estate is his own any longer under such a Government. And it seems the people in *Sueden* had such apprehensions of this President, for after it was concluded and begun to be put in execution, an insurrection is made and the people stand up in defence of their Bells, so as some cannot be removed, others that are removed, and carrying away, are pursued and rescued, and the officers employed, are beaten for their pains. Hereupon the King calls a convention of Estates which might have been more seasonable to have determined the gift of the Bells, before they had jangled such an unruly peal. The convention of Estates meet at *Upsal*, the *Dalkarles* the chief in defence of their Bells summon another convention of the people at *Arbogg*, so as here is also one Parliament against another. *The people* (saith the Historian) *are commonly of that temper, that they will either serve humbly, or govern proudly. True liberty which is the golden mean they neither know how to want, nor how to use, especially a people (such as the* Suedes) *trained up in war, now* (*like the* Romanes ex brevi otio multiplex bellum) *grown wanton, chuse rather to lose their peace then their bells.* But the Parliament at *Arbog* thrives not, few hearken to their summons, yet they set a good face upon the matter: they send messengers to the King protesting their fidelity, yet they

Cæs: Com. l. 1. de bello civil.

they desire his answer to two requests, one that the King will not send more forces within the borders of the *Dallcarles*, then they shall deem convenient for them to quarter: the other, not to set any governor over them then such a one as is of their own country or neigborhood. The kings spirit was too great to like conditions from his subjects, yet his wisdom prevailed to take into consideration the condition of his affairs at the present. *That* Christiern *was now in* Norwey, *the winter newly entred, the* Normans *enlining to advance, his designes if the* Dallcarles *should be driven into a further distance, the issue might be doubtful.* He therefore dissembles his displeasure, and sends them a Governor according to their desire, but after three years gathers an army and seises the chief authors of this rebellion and puts them to death, and brought down the pride of the *Dallcarles* into a lower Orb, by seisure of their liberties, and so made them more level with the rest of the people.

This was the first design resting barely upon the point of malignancy against this government of *Gustav.* in favor of the cause of the deposed King, but like a granado fiering in the air, spent it self before it fell, yet it was not the last. For the K. of *Denmark* dies soon after, leaving *Christiern* a prisoner to the Lords of *Denmark*; who differing in their opinions as to the election of a King, spent two years in an *interregnum*, during which time some acted for the son of the deceased King, being a child and more capable of counsel, and herein the Bishops joined: others acted for the Duke of *Holst*, and some were for restoring *Christiern* (then a prisoner) to the throne again. This was one summons to the King of *Sueden* to look about him, and kept him off from requiting to the *Dallcarles* their courtesie in the matter of the Bells. But there was another that appeared no less dangerous, though not so sudden in effect: and this was the change in the government of *Lubeck* from the *Popish* to the *Lutheran* way, wch although, in it self, suited well wth the K. of *Suedens* mind, yet, in such alterations there is commonly one man more active then the rest & he becomes an instrument in altering the government upon such alterations in religion; even so the *Lubeckers* had one for the purpose cal-

called *Woolweaver*, a man by education as his name; whom they make Consul of the City; and he being gotten up, is blown up higher with affection of popularity, and undertaking to be a patron to the poor, now much increased in the City, principally as he saith by the neglect of their priviledges by the King of *Sueden*; who contrary to agreement made with the *Lubeckers* for their service in assisting the King of *Sueden*, hath countenanced trade from and with the *Hollanders*, and other Nations: And for a remedy hereof, *Woolweavers* counsel is to indeavour to draw the *Daxe* to joyn with the *Lubeckers*; against all trading with *Sueden* from without the *Baltick* Sea.

But the *Dane* told them that they thought not meet for them to come to conclusion in things of that nature, till they were better setled in their Government, & were agreed concerning the party that should be their King. And finding it more necessary to maintain correspondency with *Sueden* (in regard of the endeavours of a party amongst them to advance *Christierne* to the Throne again) they acquainted the King of *Sueden* with the designes of the *Lubeckers*. *Woolweaver* is angry hereat, and without blushing face about and propoundeth to the King of *Sueden* to joyn with them against the *Hollanders*. But *Gustavus* his counsel was rather to manage well the matter concerning *Denmark*, then to enter upon new engagements; they see the *Danish* affairs is as a Sea of many currents, wherein if they steere not an even course, and keep not constant watch, themselves may be in danger of Shipwrack, and therefore as embarked in one and the same Ship with *Denmark*, they bend their whole counsel in the speedy settlement of the Government thereof; as may best conduce to the concurrent interest of both Nations.

Woolweaver finding his labour lost, growes angry, and like one lifted up from below, lifts up his thoughts higher then his wit served him, and in his Careere vanteth, that as he had advanced *Gustavus* into the throne, so he would turn him out again; and thereupon entertains correspondency

dency with the Runnagadoes of *Sueden*. *Guſtavus* eſpying this, ſeiſeth upon the perſons, goods and priviledges of the *Lubeckers* in *Sueden*; the *Lubeckers* alſo dealing in like manner with the *Suedes* at *Lubeck*.

And *Woolweaver* aiming at nothing leſs then the crown of *Sueden*, by entertaining private intelligence in *Sueden*, gains deſignes of civil broiles to be ſet on foot to buſie the King at his own home. And firſt prevaileth with the Earl of *Hoy*, who married the Kings own ſiſter, and being a perſon of great intereſt, by his means prevailed with the people, eſpecially of *Smalland*, to bring them alſo into diſaffection. And that done, the Earl withdrawes himſelf, his wife and children, nnto *Lubeck*, under pretence for his healths ſake; but being arrived, is made Commander in chief of all the diſaffected *Suedes* who repair to him. *It is a fate of great men, ſeldom to be contented with, or continue long in their greatneſs: either their own merits are not rewarded enough, or their inferiors too much, and ſo being malecontented, ſtriving to be higher, they fall lower.*

It was not enough for the Earl of *Hoy* to be the Kings brother by marriage of his ſiſter, nor to be Lord Lieutenant for *Guſtavus* in his own Countrey of *Sueden*, but he muſt become General of a party of Malecontents under *Woolweaver*, againſt his Brother, his King, his Kindred and Countrey, and what was gained hereby, will appear afterward.

In the mean time time, many retire to him out of *Sueden* by reaſon principally of the diſturbances of *Smalland* which begun by the Earles inſtigation before his departure out of *Sueden*, but are fomented by a company of lawleſs perſons in the countrey, which combined themſelves againſt the Kings Juſtices; and that with ſo high a hand, as it came to blood, even to the ſlaughter of the Kings Lieutenant in that Countrey; and they being ſuppreſſed by the King with force of armes, they nevertheleſs maintained a kind of theeviſh war till they waſted by

by flight to the Earl of *Hoy*, whose party thus encreased, waited upon all advantages, and occasioned the King of *Sueden* to stand rather upon his watch then his defence; for they did him no harm, God having provided other means to pare their nailes without the King of *Sueden's* help.

For *Woolweaver* having gained this accesse of aid for his designes, soon imployed it upon his principal work, which was to settle his neighbours the *Danes* in a posture fitting to his purpose; for the condition of *Denmark* being now, as touching the Election of a King (as formerly I mentioned) divers of the Lords of *Denmark* joined with *John*, the son of the former King (though he were a minor) principally upon the account of Religion, which was changed by his father into the *Lutheran* way, and they hoped the son would therefore the rather uphold it. This the Bishops espied, and wheeled about for the intereſt of the Roman way, and therefore would have the Government managed by Administratorship, and published injunctions in their own name for the departure of all the *Lutheran* Preachers out of the Country by a day prefixed. This being like to fall heavy upon the Cities of *Hafnia*, and *Malmogia*, and they being loath to make a breach, they prevail for concurrence in the Government by administratorship, and invite *Christian* Duke of *Holst*, to be administrator in the name of *John* the former Kings son; but he disclaimed that work. Then they prevailed with the Duke of *Aldenburgh* (who professed the Doctrine of *Luther*) to accept thereof, and thereupon he came to *Hafnia* with a party, but finding many whisperings in behalf of *Christierne* the deposed King; the Duke to gain the greatest party, declared his willingness for the resettlement of him, and thereby indeed gained a strong party amongst the people; for *Christierne* had practised the same trade in *Denmark* that he had done in *Sueden*, flattering the common people into a party from the Lords, which an Historian notes, is the ready way to a Tyranny. *Woolweaver* thoug

Dion. Hist. l. 6

though he was more fierce then wise, takes this opportunity, sides also with the Duke of *Aldenburgh*, and prevails with him to ingage against the Duke of *Holst*, who stood in his way, having divers of the Lords of *Denmark* joining with him to make him King; but in this the Duke of *Aldenburghs* expectation was deceived, for he lost the day, and was beaten out of the Field by the Duke of *Holst*.

And now is the Duke of *Holst* brought upon the Stage to act his part for the Crown of *Denmak*, to purchase his own rest and safety; and observing that the King of *Sueden* was left out of the Play, he invites the King to bear a part in the Game for *Woolweavers* sake; and the King of *Sueden* well knowing wherein he was most concerned, made lesse difficulty in the matter, and therefore although *Woolweaver* endeavoured to stop that muse by fair words, yet the King would not so be perswaded, but minding the messengers of the entertainment of the *Swedish* runnegadoes by their Master, he dismissed them. And having intelligence that the people in *Denmark* sided with the Duke of *Aldenburgh*, for their depoled Kings sake, he saw it was no time to dally any longer, but forthwith falleth with an army into the *Danish* Territories and possesseth several places to the use of the Duke of *Holst*. The *Danish* Lords espying which way the Current passed, and seeing themselves deserted by the people, joined also with the Duke of *Holst*, and engaged him for the Crown in good earnest.

The Duke of *Aldenburgh* finding his interest amongst the common people of *Denmark* according to his desire thinks all safe, takes his ease, and injoies his pleasure. But the Duke of *Holst* not so, he sends the *Danish* Lords into *Jutland* with an army, who soon brought the people into order, and thence march into *Fionia*, where in one battel all the hopes of the Duke of *Aldenburgh* are lost, and a sacrifice made to the King of *Sueden* of the Earl of *Hoy*, the Arch-Bishop of *Upsal* (who it seems had not his desire

to die at *Rome*) and others of the disaffected *Swedes* slain in the battel.

The news hereof coming to *Lubeck*, makes *Woolweaver* tack about for another adventure, and observing that *Svante*, son of *Steno Sture*, formerly Governour of *Sweden*, was now in the Duke of *Saxonies* Court, he subornes a message unto *Svante* as from his mother, to meet her at *Malla*, where its said she waited with conveniences for him, who thereupon repairs to *Malla*, but in stead of meeting with his mother, he is met with by a Troop of horse from *Lubeck*, who offer him in the name of the City great honours if he will be advised by them, and so by surprisal they convey him to *Lubeck*, where he is saluted by *Woolweaver* the Consul, with expressions of joy at his coming, and minding him of the *unsetled condition of the Northern Kingdoms, the private dissatisfactions in* Sweden, *he tells him that now a fair opportunity is offered him to recover the Government of* Sweden, *a place so famously managed by his Ancestors; That the City had an army in readiness, wanting only his assent to be their leader; That it will be expected that he should now shew himself worthy of such a Linage.* And so he did: The false son of *Steno* would gain a Kingdom, and could not: the true son will not, though proffered with exhortations and large promises; for he had sworn Fealty to *Gustavus*, and he would observe it, and therefore demanded to be at liberty to depart, or that *Woolweaver* would shew cause why he was detained prisoner. *Woolweaver* seeing no good to be done, told him he was no prisoner, and that it was free for him to go, when, and whither he pleased, but where ever he should be his favourable opinion of the City was earnestly desired.

The King of *Sweden* was informed hereof, and is thereby sharpened in the pursuit of the Duke of *Holsts* interests upon the main land of *Scania*, and in a short time brought all the Country to submit to him; Only the City of *Malmegia*, and some other neighbouring Castles hold out for the

the Duke of *Aldenburgh* whom they had invited, and they hoped for relcue from him. The Duke accordingly with the Duke of *Aldenburgh* and the Duke of *Meckelenburgh* join their ſtrength together, and reſolve to adventure all upon one caſt of a Die, as it were; and in one battel with the King of *Sueden* (whether by ſtrength or policy of War, called by ſome treachery, the Hiſtory ſpeaks not out) but the Dukes army is utterly and irrecoverably overthrown. And within a few dayes all the Country is fully for the Duke of *Holſt*, that within one week before was of a quite contrary temper.

Haffnia had now been beſieged above half a year by the Duke of *Holſt*, that City only being left as the gleaning of the War, and in which the laſt ſtrength of the Dukes of *Aldenburgh*, *Oldenburgh*, and *Meckelenburgh*, and *Lubeck* was now Contracted. This was time enough for *Chriſtierne* the depoſed King to trie the courteſie of the houſe of *Burgundy*, but none of that houſe willſtir in his behalf, and (which was more unhappy for the beſieged) the affairs at *Lubeck* do face about to the rear. The *Hanſe* Towns in their general meeting, perceiving that the affairs at *Lubeck* had for theſe five years laſt paſt been under the ſway of *Woolmeaver* carried on by deſign under colour of Religion, and that the City was by this means brought under ſuch difficulties that they knew not how to come off either with repute or ſafety; They thereupon conclude (according to the Emperors Council ſent to the City) that the former government at *Lubeck* ſhould be reſtored, not intermedling with the change of Religion at all; and becauſe they would ſalve the credit of *Woolmeaver*, they commend him to the Government of *Burgridorffe*. *Woolmeaver* is not herewith ſatisfied, but at his departure vowed to be revenged; and the Senate at *Lubeck* now changed, conſidering his reſtleſſe Spirit, are no leſſe ſatisfied then he, and thereupon ſending meſſengers after him found him in his journey in the territories of a Prince that owed him no good, and there they procured him to be

imprisoned and charged with treason against the state of *Lubeck*, and so he was put to death and quartered. And thus *Lubeck* setled upon its old basis, and flourished again leaving this lesson to such as would be States-men: *That miscarriages in Government are not reformed by altering the Government, but by establishing it.*

Haffnia, now after a years siege wearied with the miseries of war is surrendred upon terms, not altogether so honorable for the Duke of *Holst* as might expected. The King of *Sweden* telling the Duke *that being privy to his own engagements in the Dukes behalf, he did perswade himself that no such agreement should ever have been made by the Duke without the Kings knowledg; and in one thing, not without his consent: for why should the King be excluded out of this agreement, and the Duke engage himself thereby not to aid the King of* Sweden *in case he would not agree with the* Lubeckers *upon just terms.* The Duke pleaded his own necessity of the present surrender of the City, and the importunity of the Lords and his neighbour-princes led him thereto; nevertheless he assured the King, if he would send his embassadors, they should find that the King should not receive dammage in any thing thereby. And the King did accordingly send Embassadors; but the *Lubeckers* could never prevail to have a re-settlement of their former priviledges of trade and traffick in *Sweden* as they desired, and so the conclusion was upon a bare truce between the *Lubeckers* and the King for five years.

Thus are the three *Northern* Kingdoms brought into a condition of quiet consistence once more, and Turbulent *Lubeck* into a calme; and the captived King in a manner twice captived, now if not hopeless, yet less hopeful then ever formerly. *England* was allyed, and had done what what it thought meet, and possibly more then was meet: They sent Embassadors to draw the Lords to a treaty, but they liked not to adventure their necks upon promises and purposes: The Emperor did less, either judging his person despicable for his carriage to his Queen and the Lords:

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or the Lords more wise and weary then to adventure upon a second trial of their late Kings Courtesy, unless they were thereto compelled by force; for which the Emperor had neither mony nor time to spare; although the opportunity did lie, as faire for him to do his brother a good turn as he could desire, if he desired it: And lastly though the Common people entred upon an adventure in his behalf, yet they effected nothing. If joyned with the great men they add both to the number and value; but in opposition to them they (for the most part) are as Ciphers, that fill room but signifie nothing, *being neither sensible of approaching good or evil, nor speedy and advised in concluding of a remedy, but as a body without a soul, without reason discerning activity if the orator maybe believed, or as the sea, immovably in their own natural disposition, otherwise then as the wind or aire is either quiet or tempestuous*, for such is the Historians opinion: Its many times seen that providence doth advance some particular persons of the meanest rank, and make them instrumental in publick Government; but never puts the Government into the power of the lowest rank of men, for that is the speedy way to confusion, as may evidently appear by the Earthquakes in Government raised from below by the Anabaptists in *Germany* in these very times wherein the present story lies; wherein though the issue was abortive, yet it came to that growth as it made the greater powers to tremble.

Cic. 1. Or. Plan.

Liv. lib. 38.

And now comes the time of rest in *Sueden* from toylsome civil war, and both King and people may have liberty to enjoy their own several lots. The King had hitherto acted the Souldier wondrous well, and now must he try his skill in a peaceable Government, wherein I shall not enter into particulars (the same relating only to that nation and not so imitable by other) but shall satisfie my self with some brief contents of many Lawes and Acts of State, shewing rather the disposition of the Government, then the several actions thereof. The King taking into consideration, that the fewel that maintained the civil warre

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was now spent and the people hitherto trained up in the toyl of war, he judged it more safe to find them still *negotium quam otium*, as was said of the people of Rome, rather
Val.Max.l.7.c.2. labour then leasure; and considering also, that a time must come when a Commonwealth reduced by war, must be Governed and maintained by peace, he now acquaints his people with matters of profit and gained them thereby to the employments in mining, husbandry, fishing, and Sea-trade, all of them advanced by the Kings own ingenuous contrivances; and incouraging *Labour*, banishing idleness, punishing wanderers, and vagabonds, he found a way, thus, to make the Sea to serve the land, the land to serve men, men to serve their Nation, the Nation to observe their Kings, and both Nation and King to serve God, and thereby laid a foundation of a far better building of *Sweden*, then *Augustus* did of Rome, of whom it was said that he found it of Earth, and left it of stone.

Dion.l.56 The people likewise soon found the sweetness of this Government and are not far behind in requital of the Kings influence upon them. They had now spent twenty years under the Kings Government, and in a good measure found the benefit of peace though bought with the sweat and blood of the people in a long war, but how sad will it be, if one last breath of the King do put an end to all. The Council therefore at their meeting, taking into consideration the experience had formerly by *Sweden* that Governments, by election are alwayes uncertain, and seldom
Bodin de Rep. accomplished without deceit and discord and oftentimes at the cost of the peoples blood; that they are of short continuance, and therefore ill for the people. For that in such cases; Governours, like some birds will plume others to
Sue. In vit. Tib. fether their own nests to keep their young ones warm, when themselves are gone; and that its much better for the people to be sucked with one leach, which in continuance may be satisfied, and give the people rest; then by change of many which would increase pain, and suck without satiety; That the advancement of one Family to the throne

throne is a salve to all this, and is a preparative of a winning aspect from it upon the people, and of a due respect from them to it; and so of a kind of conjugal affection between both against the marriage-day. That it suppresseth the turbulent aims of ambitious men that croud into the throne, and yet of all men are most unworthy. And secureth the present Government in the peaceable possession of him that hath it: That upon such grounds as these *Augustus*, and other Roman Emperours who left no inheritors to the Emperial Crown used in their lifetime to adopt and declare their successors in the Goveanment, and trained them up for their service; nor did they find it dangerous for themselves or their successors so to do; That the people at the siege of *Stockholm* offered to settle the Government upon the King and his children, when as yet he neither had any, nor was married, nor was resolved upon that course of life. But now is married, and hath children; and hath given such plentiful testimony of his love, industry and faithfulnesse, in adventuring all that he hath even to his own life to vindicate the honour of his Country. What acknowledgment can be sufficient for so great a merit, lesse then the resignation of the Crown of *Sueden* to him and his posterity for ever.

This is the sum, and thus it is unanimously concluded at the Council holden at *Orebrogia*, and that it shall be propounded to the Convention of States to be by them established for future ages; all which by their instrument in writing profess to be done by them freely and of their own accord, and without any Constraint. Its needlesse to trouble the reader with the many scofs of the Kings enemies hereat, as if he suffered a Crown to be forced upon his family against his own will: *It hath ever been the lot of brave men for brave actions to meet with imputations from some that are envious, and against such there is no remedy, but to allow them time to grow stale, and run themselves out of breath, and neglect them as* Tiberius *did with a complement, That in a Free-state mens minds and tongues* Tac Anol. 2 Suet. in vir. Tiberii.

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in such cases ought to be free. And some did set the dint of Religion against it, as if God liked not that men should contrive perpetuities. Its true, yet he loves that men should be provident for establishment of justice, truth and peace in a Nation; and to that end, himself did set the Crown upon the Family of *David*, and hath blessed the same Rule in the Government of most of the Nations with prosperous success; although not alwayes precisely fixing upon the particular person that men design thereto. However imputations were, as if the King designed all, and its not much material, yet it is less evident, that the Kings desire was not very eager thereupon, for he summoned not a convention of States till four years after, and then at *Westeraes* the point was debated anew, and notwithstanding it might be said that the establishing the Government upon one family might prove the espousing of a quarrel, and setting up of a family in *Sueden* against a family, or it may be the whole body of the people of *Denmark*, yet it is enacted and declared. *That after the death of* Gustavus Ericson, *his son shall succeed in the Government and his eldest son, and the heirs-males of his body; and for want of such, his next brother and his heirs males of his body shall succeed therein; and for want of such*, John *the second son of* Gustavus *and the heirs-male of his body shall succeed, and so the rest of the sons of* Gustavus *and the heirs males of their body shall succeed in case of failing of heirs-males, and in case of want of heirs males of the son of* Gustavus, *the eldest of the blood and family of* Gustavus *shall succeed and his issue male, and for want of such, then shall such person succeed as the Council of the Kingdome of* Sueden *shall elect provided he be no forreigner, and that he shall provide portions for the issue female of* Gustavus. This is the summ of the setlement of the Crown of *Sueden* upon the King and his family, and yet the right of election is still saved to the people, not only by special limitation but by qualifying the power of the Council and excluding forreiners as if they would ever keep in memorial that the great sore in the Govet-

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ment of that Nation, was rather from without then within. The convention of States herein, doing as wise men that bend their course by rule still leaving to God tht supream controll who also even in this case over-ruled their rule, as to the succession of the Posterity in *Ericus* his Line, which was afterward laid aside by the people, (*Ericus* being found false to the principles of Government established by his father and the Convention of States of *Sueden*) and yet owned *Gustavus* his family so far as to build him a sure house (who had builded Gods house) by raising from thence many men of fame both for peace and war; and made it the most illustrious constellation of all the *Northern* Hemisphere for influence, not only within the Kingdom of *Sueden* but into the general affairs of *Europe*.

As *Gustavus* his house groweth in their hopes *Christiern* the deposed King daily looseth in his. The Emperour being intended for war against *France*, finds it necessary for him to quiet his affairs in *Germany*: And amongst the rest at the convention at *Spiers*, the difference between him and *Christiern* the third of that name, King of *Denmark* comes to debate and is setled; and *Christiern* the second the Emperours brother, a deposed King and prisoner, is after fourteen years of imprisonment, left still to be a prisoner, who seeing himself now quite laid aside by his chief friends, bethinks himself to make his captivity (seeing it must be his condition) as delightsome as he can, and thereupon surrendreth actually all his right and the right of his posterity in the Crown of *Denmark*, and the Dukedomes of *Holst* and *Slesvick* in as ample manner as should be devised, and thereby obtained though not a release from, yet more elbow-room in prison. And had the title of *Sueden* been also remembred, it had become the strict league made between the two Nations, but the *Suedes* regarded not any resignation nor would acknowledg any le, now for ought doth occur did any of the friends the captive King, at any time reflect against *Sueden*:

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The Emperor nevertheleſs was, it ſeems, willing enough to countenance any quarrel, picked againſt the King of *Sueden* by any other perſon, more particularly that by the Elector Palatine and the Duke of *Lorrain* touching their Nieces dowry (which they pretended the Kingdom of *Sueden* ought to take care of) but the matter went no further then words: the claim was publiſhed in print, and the King of *Suedens* anſwer alſo, denying the matter in fact: and alledging that if any thing had been formerly due, it was made void by that inhumane tyrannie, whereby the Tyrant forfeited all his Rights in *Sueden* for himſelf and his poſterity. And declaring alſo, that now the publick revenues of the Crown of *Sueden* were otherwiſe ſetled and cannot be altered.

After all this, the Kings ſecond wife dies, leaving three ſons and four daughters: her eldeſt ſon named *John* was afterward King of *Sueden*, after that the people had depoſed *Ericus* the Kings eldeſt ſon for miſgovernment: her ſecond ſon *Magnus*, Duke of *Eaſt-Gothland*: her third ſon *Charles* Duke of *Sudermania*, who alſo was King upon the depoſing of his Nephew *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland*, and after crowned alſo King of *Sueden*, but was after ejected by the people, becauſe he would not maintain the liberties of *Sueden*, but advanced the *Poliſh* intereſt. And after *Charles* his death, his ſon *Guſtavus Adolphus* ſucceeded in the Kingdom: and after him, his daughter *Chriſtina*, who reſigning the Government, *Charles Guſtavus* ſon of *Katharine*, daughter to *Charles*, and half ſiſter to *Guſtavus Adolphus* married to one of the houſe of *Caſimire*, now reigneth. A brave poſterity doubtleſs, yet the King, though now ſtricken in years, cannot live unmarried but takes a third wife, *Katharine* daughter to *Guſtavus* Governor of *Weſt-Gothland*.

The wiſdom, courage, and fortunate ſucceſs of the King, now made famous amongſt other nations, cauſed divers applications to him from them for aſſiſtance, but he was ever wary of going beyond his own Orb.

It

It is an excellent point of skill in a Commander to know, when his ſtrength hath attained its juſt bounds of conqueſt, and there ſtopping his deſires of gaining more, to fix upon the good government of what he hath gotten. And it was one of the laſt advices given by *Auguſtus* to *Tiberius*, That he ſhould not endeavour to augment the bounds of the Empire, leſt he ſhould find more difficulty in keeping, and leſs in loſing what was gained. For the larger the borders are, the more opportunity is given to invaſion from abroad, and rebellion at home. The conſpiracy of *Catiline* will witneſs that, if *Florus* ſaith true. The wiſdom and moderation of *Guſtavus* is therefore worthy of obſervation, for though he wanted not men of war, nor hope of ſucceſs in further undertakings, having notwithſtanding adventured for the delivery of his countrey from tyrannie, and accompliſhed it, he deſireth no further happineſs on earth, then to maintain what was done: Yet he was once overreached by the *Livonians*, who would once have committed themſelves to his protection, but he refuſed: nevertheleſs being much endangered by the *Muſcovite*, he ſent aid to the *Livonians*, which engageing too forward, and the *Livonians* hanging behind, left the whole burthen upon the *Suedes*, who finding the *Muſcovite* too heavy for them, and the *Livonians* heartleſs, or faithleſs, betimes withdrew their aſſiſtance, and made their own peace. *Dion.* lib. 56.

The reſt of his dayes the King ſpends at home, and calling to mind the ſetlement of the Government upon his ſon *Ericus*, thinks it convenient to acquaint him with the manner of Government in his own life-time, and thereupon though late it was, *viz.* about ſixteen years after the ſetlement, and *Ericus* now nigh five and twenty years old he is made Governour of *Calmar* and *Oland* and the Countrey adjoining.

It hath been a policy in many Princes to be ſlow in advancing their eldeſt ſonnes (that are deſigned to ſucceed them in government) into places of government. And it is not without cauſe, for in ſuch caſes eſpecially in times

and places of darkneſs: for deſigned ſucceſſors, if well gifted by nature or education may prove heads of parties and factions, and put the preſent Governors into much trouble; the one being looked upon as the riſing Sun, and the other going down: and therefore ſuch Succeſſors are not uſually very pleaſing to Governors, who are guilty to themſelves of miſcarriages in government: they like not *Civilia filiorum ingenia* the politick or ingenious carriage of their ſucceſſors, as was ſaid of *Druſus*. Yet it ſeemeth leſs beneficial to the people to be tried with a raw and unexperienced Governor, who in ſuch caſe is alſo generally young and cannot govern himſelf: furthermore in all conſcientious Governments, there will be leſs fear of factions conſidering that it is irrational, cauſeleſly to quarrel at ſuch a preſent Government, to ſet up another, whereof no experience at all is had. And therefore had *Ericus* been with longer experience in government, he might have either proved more adviſed by the over-ruling direction of his father; or diſcovered ſuch a temper, as he might never have been truſted, and ſo many troubles might have been prevented that enſued afterward.

Tacit. An. lib. 2.

But it is in vain to call back things that are paſt away, time now drawes on apace that muſt determine the work of this great King: he had now governed the Nation of *Sueden* long, and ſeen many changes in other Nations, as well as in his own, and yet he muſt out-ſit one more in *Denmark* before he leaves this world; and this was a ſecond vacancy of the throne of *Denmark*, by the deceaſe of *Chriſtian* the third, and the Kingdom put to the hazard of another election, which concerned *Sueden* not a little, for ſtill *Chriſtiern* the captived King, was alive, and had another fair opportunity to try the courteſie of the Lords of *Denmark*: nevertheleſs the *Danes* being unanimous for the election of another *Frederick* ſon of the Duke of *Holſt*, him they crown, and *Chriſtiern* is ſtill ſet aſide. Unhappy man, that having lived as a priſoner ſeven and twenty years in his own Nation, could not in all this time, by his carriage, gain

gain no better opinion amongst the Nobility of *Denmark*, then ſtill to remain under the note of an impenitent and obſtinate Tyrant.

It is the opinion of wiſe men, that the breach between the King and people, is like the divorce between man and wife, never to be made up again: and yet the difficulty lieth not in any determinate judgment, or rule upon the Caſe, as in that of Divorce (and therefore cometh not within the compaſs of impoſſibility) but in the diſtemper of the parties by ambition on the one ſide, and jealouſie on the other; both hard to be cured: yet the firſt leading the way to the ſecond, if that be firſt allayed the ſecond may be cured: and this *Chriſtiern* might have obſerved if he had looked upon the example of *Carolus Canutus* his corrival in the *Swediſh* throne, who being crowned King, and having fought againſt the *Danes* and *Norwegians* with great ſucceſs, ruled ſomewhat too imperiouſly, and was ejected out of the Throne, yet afterward was re-admitted again, and ruled in that manner, that he died, as the Story ſaith, ſatisfied with honor and love of the people. But *Chriſtiern*'s temper was not ſo, he would fain come again into the Government, yet not under correction, nor with ſubmiſſion, nor by leave, nor with love of his Nation, but depending ſtill upon a foreign intereſt and power of the Emperor, who then was a true ſoldier in the *Roman* cauſe, is looked upon as an enemy, and his return as that of the unclean ſpirit, that will render the later condition of the Nation ſeven-fold worſe then the former. *Sotern.*

For he that is a King indeed, though wrongfully rejected, will ſtill bear the mind of a King, to deſire the peoples good, and endeavour to deſerve their love: but he that dependeth upon the foreign intereſt of ſuch as are enemies to the peoples liberty and religion profeſſedly, diſowneth intereſt in his people, and in that condition cannot rationally expect any re-acceptance (if that Nations religion be right) either by the leave of God or liking of the people.

Now whether *Chriſtiern* took conceit at this election as ſeeing all hope quite gone of ever regaining any better con-

condition then what he was in, Writers do not mention. For he died soon after the election, and within one moneth after the death of *Christiern* the third, and in the seventy eighth year of his age. And *Gustavus* King of *Sweden* outlives him, and all these changes two years well nigh, sees his people in a setled condition for justice, religion, and peace, amongst themselves and with all their neighbors, thriving in trade, industrious in agriculture, and skilful in improving the benefit of their Mines, potent both at sea and land: himself blessed with repute, and honor from his own people and strangers, success in all his affairs, and a numerous off-spring. And having lived seventy years, and thereof passed thirty and eight years in Government, gives in charge to his children to endeavour the peace and maintaining of the liberties of their countrey, but especially the purity of religion free from humane traditions: and to live as brethren in unity each with other, all which also as a memorial he left sealed up in his last will.

So lived *Gustavus* or *Augustus*, for the name is one, that possibly minding him of imitation, made him exceed his pattern. His aimes outreached the *Roman* Empire, and were higher then the world; his difficulties and dangers greater; his enemies more desperate by conjuncture of Divels; his labour and industry not unsuitable; his success beyond all even to wonderment. If he came short of *Augustus* in time of Government, (the difference was not much) yet he exceeded him in the manner: It being with such an excellent temper of Monarchy and popularity (as is said of *Augustus*) that he preserved the peoples liberty consistent with the honour of a King, and common security without pride of tyrannie. The people living as well under the King without servitude as in a popular estate without sedition, and yet attempted all unto just liberty of conscience and unto the true worship and service of God; which he owned as the chief flower of his crown, and conveyed all unto his Successors by a better and more enduring setlement then *Augustus* did, or could attain unto.

Dion lib. 56.

Yet

Yet is *Augustus* Deified by Historians, some of [illegible] conceal all faults, and make him *Dis similis*: Others [illegible] but one vice in him, that he was too familiar with his [illegible] wives, yet excuse him in that also, that it was not [illegible] *libidine* from lust, but *ex ratione* from reason of State, to gain intelligence from the wives of their husbands designs. I dare not extoll *Gustavus* to so high a pitch as the [illegible], nor will I match him with the later. His worst enemies did never tax him in publick with any crime but covetousness: and *Thuanus* a Writer of credit in those times (that noteth the same) gives no countenance thereto; nor did the patrimony left by the King, to his children speak forth any such thing, and therefore if any such thing were, I may also upon better grounds say it was *ex ratione* for the service of the State of *Sueden*; wherein if he spared not others, it is confessed of all that he spared not his own estate: his infirmities are common to other men, and must be acknowledged *vitia naturæ, non animi*; as infirmities of nature, not of purpose of minde. Now if his fame rather did mount upward then spread wide: Thank the wiles of those times who liked not that the splendor of his religion should dazle their own, and pity the distempers of those dawnings, that knew not how to value that Morning-star till it was set. It was *Augustus* his lot, after a long reign and honourable, to die, and yet *Tum quidem pauci luxerunt, postea temporis omnes*; for *Tiberius* succeeded him, who was as wicked, as *Augustus* was good: and whatever the people thought of *Gustavus* while he lived, they afterward when *Ericus* came to reign, soon knew what it was to want their *Gustavus*: of whom I must conclude notwithstanding all that hath been or can be said that he died a King, a Patriot, a Knight, a Christian, true and unconquered, and now lives a monument of the truth of that golden sentence determined by the God of truth, *Him that honour them, I will honour.*

Sueton. in vit. Aug.

Sueton. in vita Tiberii.

Dion. lib. 5. 6.

FINIS.